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# Buddhist Remains in Āndhra

AND

## The History of Āndhra between 225 & 610 A.D.

BY

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3 MAPS AND 6 PLATES

WITH A FOREWORD

BY

DR G JOUVEAU-DUBREUIL

Author of *The Pallavas, Pallava Antiquities,  
Ancient History of the Deccan*, etc , etc



PRICE

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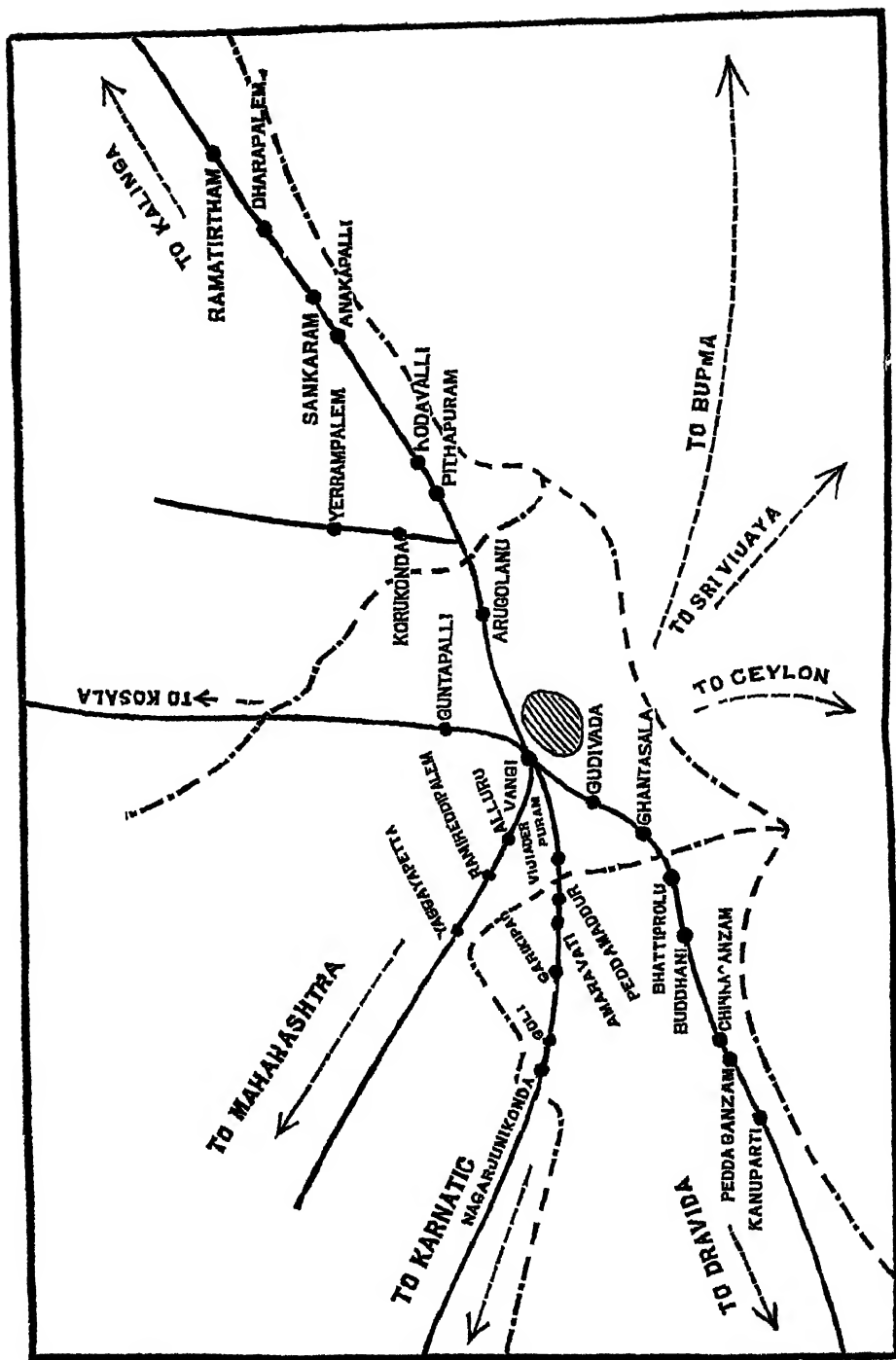
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DEDICATED TO  
M R RY  
C R REDDI GARU, M A (CANTAB)  
THE FIRST VICE CHANCELLOR OF THE  
ĀNDHRA UNIVERSITY,  
AS A TOKEN OF THE AUTHORS  
HIGH REGARD  
FOR HIS GREAT INTELLECTUAL  
CAPACITIES AND BROAD  
CULTURAL OUTLOOK



## FOREWORD

THE work of Mr Subramanian will give the reader very complete details concerning—

- 1 Archaeology of the Āndhra country
- 2 Its history during the Third, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth centuries

I think that as Preface for this book it would be well that I fix —

- 1 in space (on the map) the archæological remains,
- 2 in time (chronology) the historical facts

### *Section 1 Geographical position of Archæological remains in Āndhra*

In examining the map opposite, one will find the Buddhist sites placed along certain lines. The country of Vengī was a great meeting place of roads. Five great routes converged at that place

- 1 The road to Kalinga (North East),
- 2 The road to Diavida (South),
- 3 The road to Karnātic (South West),
- 4 The road to Mahārāshtra (North West),
- 5 The road to Kosala (North)

These five roads converged towards the country of Vengī which lay along the coast. Some great ports existed in this country and from them ships used to start to Chryse, i.e., the country of gold, Burma and Śrī Vijaya.

We have absolute proof of the fact that the country of Vengī had a preponderating influence on the civilisation of Burma, of Malaya states and of Indo-China. This proof is supplied to us by the alphabet of the inscriptions found there.

One would believe that Burma had close relations with Bengal and less relations with Vengī. It is quite the contrary. A Buddhist stupa discovered recently in old Prome contained inscriptions in Kanarese-Telugu script of the Sixth Century. We know that from early times the alphabet of Indo-China was derived from that of Vengī. Thus, these overseas countries were making use of the alphabet of Vengī and not of the alphabet of the Gangetic valley.

The commerce of India with the Far East was not carried, as one would think, through the port of Tāmarlipti (Tamluk) or the

ports of Orissa. It is from the country of Vengi that Indian ships sailed to go to the Far East.

We are astonished at this, for, we are accustomed to consider the mouths of the Ganges as a great centre of maritime commerce. This illusion is produced by the importance of the big modern town of Calcutta.

But, we must understand that the valley of the Ganges is not a coastal region.

On the contrary, through the valleys of the Godāvārī and the Krishnā, the big routes of the Deccan converge towards the sea in the country of Vengi.

Such being the case, let us consider the map of the Buddhist sites. These sites are numerous. There are some thirty of them. And all the Buddhist sites are along the five great routes that we have cited.

1 On the road to Kalinga, Vengi, Arugolu, Pithāpuram, Kodavalli, Anakapalle, Sankaram, Dhānapalem, Rāmatirtham, Śālihundam.

2 On the road to the south, Guḍivāḍa, Ghaṇṭasāla, Bhattapūolu, Buddhāni, Chinna and Pedda Gañjam and finally Kanuparti.

3 On the road to the Karnāṭic, the sites of Vijayadērpuram (Bezwāda), Peddamaddur, Amarāvatī, Garikipādu, Gōli, Nāgājunikonda.<sup>1</sup>

4 On the road to Mahārāṣṭra are found Allūru, Rāmireḍḍipalle, Jaggayyapēta.

5 Lastly, at the beginning of the road to Kosala which started from Vengi and followed the Godāvārī to go to the centre of India *via* Nāgpur, we find the site of Gunṭapalle. Another road towards the north lay through Korukonda and Veirampālem. It was because the Buddhist monks lived on charity, they were obliged to live near the big towns and the great roads in spite of their love for solitude and meditation.

I think that it is necessary to mention these routes, for we are familiar with the present-day geography only. We must therefore say here what the old road map was.

1 Road to Kalinga. If you look at a modern map, you see that there is absolutely no road in the region comprised between the Kollēru lake and the sea. The whole right bank of the river Upputtēru is devoid of villages and roads.

<sup>1</sup> Dr J. Dubreuil is of opinion that Chējārī is not Buddhist.

The Grand road, therefore, lay on the north of the Kollēru lake through Vengi and Arugolu and crossed the Godāvarī probably near Dowlēswaram through the island of Bobberlanka. This place is precisely the one where the sacred river which, so far, was running in one stream divided itself into many branches. Dowlēswaram situated near the source of the Gautamī must have been particularly sacred for the pious Buddhists. Thus, the Grand road to Kalinga lay far away from the mouth of the Godāvarī and it is for this reason that no Buddhist site is found in the *delta* of the Godāvarī. From Dowlēswaram the road led to Pithāpuram where there was a stūpa, then, towards the well-known site of Kodavalli, thereafter the road followed the coast through Anakapalle and Sankaram, Dhānapalem near Simhāchalam and, finally, Rāmatirtham.

2 Road to Dravida. Gudivāda was a very important town. It was the capital of the Kūdūra country. A good road connects even to-day Peddavēgi (through Ellore) and Gudivāda. This good modern road continues as far as Pāmāru. It is probable that the island of Potarlanka favoured the passage across the Krishna, for, this place was surrounded by three famous sanctuaries. Srikākulam which was probably Buddhist in olden days and on each side of the river two big stūpas, Ghantasāla on the left bank and Bhattiprolu on the right. Potarlanka is the biggest island in the Krishnā. So, in the Roman epoch, the capital of the country was Mālanka (the big island). That is perhaps the reason why the inhabitants of Srikākulam say that the capital was in a place situated in the middle of the Krishnā. It is there that Anantapāla the minister of Simukha, the King of the Āndhras, lived.

It must be noted that even to day the town of Rēpalle is isolated and a fine road connects Bhattiprolu with Bāpatla through Buddhāni where were discovered Buddhist statuettes. The road from Bāpatla to Ongōle is now followed by the rail and it is on that road that you find Chinna and Pedda Gañjam and Kanuparti.

3 Road to the Karnātic. It crossed the Krishnā probably in its largest width between Vijayadhērpuram and Peddamaddur not far from Amarāvati. More to the west is Garikapādu. Finally, the road crossed the Krishnā near about Gōli and Nāgārjunikonda.

4 Road to Mahārāshtra. It commenced probably in the environs of Allūru and passed near Rāmireḍḍipalle to join

Jaggayyapēta from where it turned towards Tagara (Tēi) and then towards Sopāia or Bharukkacha

5 We know only of one site on the route from Vengi to Kosala and it is Guntapalle. The road followed the Godāvāri for some distance and then turned towards Nāḡpur and from there towards Northern India. A second road started from Rājahmundry and passed through the Buddhist sites of Korukonḡa and Yerrampālem.

Thus, we see that all the Buddhist sites known at present are found along the grand roads of communication.

### *Section II The chronology from 150 to 610 A D*

In 150 A D Rudradāman ruled over Aparānta. He was replaced in this country by Gautamīputra Yajña Śrī. In fact, we have found in the ruins of the stūpa of Sopāia constructed by Yajña a coin belonging to this king, quite different from the ordinary coins of the Āndhras. It is a silver coin and it bears the effigy of the king, Yajña. As this piece is evidently an imitation of the coins of Rudradāman it is not doubtful that Yajña reigned immediately after Rudradāman in Aparānta.

If we place Yajña towards 170 or 180 A D, and, if we can believe the references of the Purānas that after Yajña, ruled the three kings Vijaya, Chandrā Śrī Sāntikāina and Pulomā, the last king should have lived towards 225 A D, and the dynasty of the Śātavāhanas would have ceased to reign towards 230-240 A D.

In the Mahārāshtra the Śātavāhanas would have been replaced by the Ābhīras. In fact the inscription (No 1137 of Lüder's list) at Nāsik the script of which resembles that of the Śātavāhanas is dated in the ninth year of the reign of the King Mādharīputra Īśvaraśēna an Ābhīra, son of Śivadatta. In the Telugu country it was the Ikshvākus who replaced the Śātavāhanas. I think it necessary to draw attention here to a detail which seems to have escaped the historian's attention till now. The Ikshvāku king bore the name of Purushadatta which has the same termination *Datta*<sup>1</sup> as the Ābhīra Śivadatta. Besides, there is a king with the surname Mādharīputra (same as Purushadatta's) in the Nāsik

<sup>1</sup> Vāsuladatta nephew of Kāla the Nāga Rāja (in story), Captain Kumāradatta of Myakadōni ins and Swamidatta of Kotturu may be noted here. K R S

inscription Thus, these kings who were the successors of the Śātavāhanas and who must have been nearly contemporaneous, bore very similar names They lived probably in the middle of the Third Century A D (250 A D)

These Ikshvākus seem to have had matrimonial relations with the Śakas of Ujjain

The second half of the Third Century 250–300 A D seems to have been marked in the Deccan by a vast expansion of the Sakas of Ujjain On the banks of the Krishnā at Karad 31 miles south of Satāra a treasure was found containing coins of Vijayasēna, Damajadasri III, Rudrasēna, Visvasimha, Bhartridāman and Visvasēna This last king ruled from 296–300 A D Besides, a treasure discovered at Amarāvati in the Berars contained coins of Rudrasēna 256–272 A D

We may conclude that the Sakas of Ujjain were masters of Mahārashtra in the second half of the Third Century A D The treasure of Karad contained a coin of Rudragana This king ruled in Aparānta, for 500 pieces of silver of this king were found at Dāman They tell us that Rudragana was the son of the king Indravarman This king whose name ends in *varman* reigned therefore in Aparānta towards the end of the Third Century It is to be noted that in the same epoch there appears in the Karnātic a dynasty of Pallava princes whose names end in *varman*

These Pallava kings who ruled over the countries of Banavāsī and Amarāvati had their capital at Kāñchipuram

They took the place of the Ikshvākus towards 275 A D Many hypotheses have been built as regards the origin of the Pallavas The word 'Pallava' is nearly identical with the word 'Pahlava' which was the name of princely families in the kingdom of the Śakas The ending *varman* is not met with anywhere in the Deccan before the Third Century, and it is in Aparānta that we find Indravarman whose name ends in this manner It is not doubtful, in my opinion, that it was at the time when the Śakas ruled in the upper valley of the Krishnā that the Pallavas succeeded in creating for themselves a kingdom south of that river at Banavāsī and Amarāvati

They could not, however, maintain their position there for a long time In the country of Banavāsī the Pallavas were replaced by the Kadambas In the country of Amarāvati they were replaced by the family of the king, Kandara, of the *gotra* of Ānanda



In my article *Amaravati from A D 100-700* (Q J A H R S, vol v, Part II, Oct 1930) I have shown that this family of Kandara reigned in the Fifth Century and was replaced during the second half of the Fifth Century by the Vishnukundins who reigned up to 610 A D

The history of these epochs was for a long time very obscure. Little by little more light is thrown upon it.

The Āndhras seem to us a glorious race. To them we owe the school of Amaravati sculpture, the philosophical school of Nāgārjuna, and it is probably from the Āndhra ports that the vessels which have civilised Indo-China, Java and Sumatra started.

The excellent book of Mr Subramanian will be, to the modern Āndhras, a powerful stimulant. A country which was so glorious in the past is destined to be glorious in the future.

November 29, 1931

G. JOUVEAU DUBREUIL

## PREFACE BY THE AUTHOR

IN the following pages is recorded the result of my work as Guntūr District Board Fellow during the year 1928-9. I beg to convey my respectful thanks to the Rajah Saheb Bahadur of Vizianagram for having granted me leave of absence from the College on half pay for one year and thus enabled me to take up the Fellowship. I am highly obliged to the Āndhra University for having chosen me as the first Guntur Fellow and financed my tour in March 1929 to study some of the Āndhra monuments *in situ*. It was in the course of that tour that I discovered an image of the Buddha in white marble in a deserted Hanuman temple in Jaggayyapēta. I have presented the image to the Āndhra University and written an article on the same (with its photo) in the *Hindu Illustrated Weekly* for July 27, 1930. Subsequently the University has arranged under its auspices for two courses of lectures by me on the subject of my study, at Cocanada and Vizagapatnam, in March 1930 and December 1931. My thanks are due to Mr C R Reddi Garu for permitting me to dedicate this book to him as a token of my high regard for him. During the year of my Fellowship I worked under the late lamented scholar Mr P T Srinivasa Iyengar (then Reader in the Madras University and subsequently Professor in the Annāmalai University), and I must acknowledge with gratitude his valuable guidance. I sorely feel his loss as he promised to go through the proof sheets and write a Foreword. My sorrow has been assuaged to some extent by the ready kindness of Dr Dubreuil of Pondicherry who has written the Foreword. The distinguished Doctor is the most competent person in the field covered by my book and, in fact, I wanted to work under him but could not do so as he went home during the year. But, I cannot easily forget his enthusiasm, encouragement and hospitality when I first met him at Pondicherry in June 1928. He has now placed me under a debt of gratitude which it is not easy to discharge. The Archaeological department has been very kind in supplying me with the photographs reproduced in this book, and the Editor of the *Hindu Illustrated Weekly* has been so good as to allow me to utilise my articles to his valuable paper on *The Nāgārjunakonda Excavations*.

(2-3-30), *Nāgārjuna Bodhisattva* (16-3-30), *The Ikshvākus of the Deccan* (30-3-30), *Āndhra Culture Abroad* (13-1-30), *Early Āndhra History The Telugus, their land and language* (18-5-30), *Jaggayyapēta* (27-7-30), *Sanghārāma* (12-10-30), *Goli with Nāgārjunakonda sculptures* (19-10-30), and *Amarāvati* (21-12-30) and (28-12-30) My thanks are also due to Mr V Nairāyanan, M A, M L, Advocate, and Mr A V Venkatarāman, M A, L R (then Curator), for having read through some chapters of my book and offered a few valuable suggestions, and to Mr S Srinivas Acharya, B A, Tutor in French, Āndhra University, for having given me, at my request, a free translation of the Preface written by Dr Dubreuil

It is desirable, in my opinion, to make a few remarks in this preface on the subject-matter of the book worked at nearly three years ago My interest in the history of Āndhra Buddhism was roused some years ago by a visit to Ramatirtham (about 8 miles from Vizianagram), where one may study the various stages of our religious evolution, viz, Śakti worship (in the *Durgakonda*), Buddhism (in the *Bodikonda* corrupted into *Bodikonda* as the hill is bald), Jainism (in the *Gurubhaktalukonda* and elsewhere), and Saiva and Vaiṣṇava cults, the latter represented by traditions of Rāmānuja's visit and by the disciples of Maṇavālanrthamuni My appetite for more knowledge was whetted by a study of the remains of *Lingalakonda* (a hill of stūpas actually) or *Bojjanakonda* (a corruption of Buddhannakonda) in Sanghārāma near Anakapalle Fascinated by the subject, I collected together facts of the Buddhist remains in Āndhra as a mere hobby and delivered a lecture on the same on November 19, 1926, which was subsequently reproduced in the *Maharaja's College Magazine* (vol vi, No 2) Considerable impetus was given to my work in this field by the startling discoveries of Dr Jouveau-Dubreuil, Mr A R Saraswati and Mr Longhurst in the district of Guṇṭūr I then applied to the Āndhra University for some help to enable me to study some of the easily-accessible remains in the Āndhra districts (May 1927)

So, when I was appointed to do some research work in July 1928, I naturally decided that the legacies of the age of Nāgārjuna and far-famed Amarāvati should be collected together and presented as Part I of my book Mr Rea, Mr Longhurst and Dr Dubreuil have done a good deal of spade-work, and I was fortunate in making a personal study of their work on the spot

besides utilising their interesting reports. Archæological remains are the main source for a study of this epoch of the history of Āndhradēsa. Curiously enough, there are only a few literary works extant from this period, and what little we know of them we owe to the Chinese. Śātavāhana coins have been found in large quantities and throw some light on Andhra political, religious and economic history. The valuable epigraphs in Brāhmī and in Prākṛit from the Buddhist *stūthas* are another important mine of information of a reliable character. Āndhradēsa was saturated with Buddhism till long after the last Śātavāhana (225 A.D.) and the beginnings of Āndhra culture are coeval with the beginnings of Buddhism in the land. As Hsien-Tsang testifies, the religion of the Buddha was not an insignificant factor to be ignored even after the close of the last scene of my book (610 A.D.).

No connected account of the Buddhist remains of Āndhradēsa has hitherto been written and, therefore, Part I of my book will be found supplying a gap in her history. A clear study of the location, character and value of the monuments and the deductions concerning ancient life and manners from the marbles of Amarāvatī may be found to possess an original character and special value. The data about Nāgārjuna, his life, works and age scattered in many works, have been brought together and he is given a setting in Nāgārjunakonda which is identified with Fahian's *Polo yu* and Hsien-Tsang's *Polo molo kili*.

Part II of the book deals with the history of the various dynasties of kings that ruled over Andhradēsa between 225 and 610 A.D. The available materials for the study of this epoch are meagre, and it is difficult to correlate them logically and chronologically. The utmost that could be pressed out of these sources was a dynastic skeleton or skeletons. A glimpse into some aspects of the original picture is given by a stray reference here or there. Here, again, we feel the lack of literary sources if we except the travels of Hsien-Tsang, and archæological remains also fail us as early Hindu works are rare. We hear of Pallava gold pieces distributed to Brahmans and of Ikshvāku coins, but have not discovered even one of them. So we have to rely upon inscriptions, mostly copper-plates which do not seem to have been used in the Śātavāhana period. There are three copper-plates for the early Pallava, six for the Śālikāyana, nine for the Later Pallava (including the Darśi fragment and the spurious

Udayēndīram grant), two for the Ānanda Gotra, five for the Vishnukundin, nine for the Kalinga and two or three for the Early Chālukya dynasties. Besides, there are stone inscriptions of the Ikshvākus, the Ānanda Gotra and the Early Chālukyas. A few inscriptions of other dynasties like the Kadambas, the Gangas and the Vākātakas, the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta and the Vāyalur and Vēlūpālaiyam inscriptions of the later Pallava dynasty of Simhavishnu throw sidelights on the history of Āndhra. These epigraphs have been ably edited in learned journals by distinguished savants like Dr Fleet, Dr Hultsch and Mr H. Krishna Sastri. Fragments of unrelated information are derived from these evidences, and sometimes we have to build up a whole person out of his extant finger-nails, as it were. Our history is, thus, essentially fictional, and it is very hazardous to generalise. But I thought that a thorough first-hand study of the extant sources, aided by a sound historic imagination, would have its own value, although facts hidden in the womb of Time may, when discovered, upset some of my conclusions. To cull out hard facts from indisputable quarries, classify them and interpret their general laws, and thus make them glow with life, is the task of a historian. While he is responsible for his erroneous conclusions, the vagueness of the picture must be held as due to insufficiency of facts.

The subject-matter of Part II may be summarised in a few words. The bulk of Āndhradēśa or the Telugu-speaking country of to-day has been a separate linguistic belt from very early times. The first independent dynasty that ruled over almost the whole area was the Sātavahanas who were masters also of some neighboring kingdoms. After their decline (225 A.D.) there was division of Āndhra under two or more dynasties. Roughly, the present Nellore, Guntur and Cuddapah districts were under the Pallavas during our period (225-610 A.D.) who had to fight hard against the Kadambas in the west and for some time with the Chōlas in the south. The Brihatphalāyanas ruled the present Krishnā District for some time after 225 A.D. when the Ikshvākus spread their rule from beyond the Ghats over the bulk of Āndhra. The fall of the Ikshvākus was followed by the rapid rise of the Kadambas and the expansion of the Vākātakas who set mutual limits to their empires in Eastern Hyderabad. The expedition of Samudragupta in the middle of the Fourth Century A.D. found Āndhra as well as Kalinga disorganised without a supreme

potentate By the end of the Third Century A D , Ikshvāku rule in the Krishna and West Godāvāri districts was supplanted by that of the Śāṅkāyanas whose tenure of power continued upto about 450 A D Then, the family of the Vishnukundins, a protégé of the Vākātakas of the Central Provinces, superseded the Śāṅkāyanas and ruled also over a little territory south of the Krishnā for some time Vākātaka Vishnukundin sway extended beyond the Godāvāri at the expense of the Kalinga kings even as far as Vizianagiam Subsequently the Gangas of Kalinga stemmed the tide of Vishnukundin invasion and proved a thorn on the side of the Vishnukundins north of the Godāvāri About the beginning of the Seventh Century a new force had arisen in Karnāta, viz, the Chālukyas The Chalukyan tempest blew over the whole of the Deccan, uprooting some and crippling other old dynasties A branch of the Chālukyas came to be established in the Āndhra country in the first decade of the Century and it flourished for four centuries till it was merged in the Chōla family

The first book which attempted a history of Āndhra was Mr Chilukuri Vinabhadra Rao's *Āndhracharitra* in Telugu (Madras, 1910)

Dr Jouveau-Dubreuil of Pondicherry has given a sketch of the dynasties of Āndhra in his *Ancient History of the Deccan* His scholarly work on *The Pallavas* has brought in its train a number of publications, but the other dynasties of Āndhra have been comparatively untouched In two respects, Part II of this book is an advance upon Dr Dubreuil's work While the learned writer gives a skeleton of facts, I have been able to supply the necessary flesh and blood and give a whole picture with a detailed account of the local habitats of the dynasties and their inter-relations Again, during the last decade (after the publication of the *Ancient History of the Deccan*, 1920), wonderful archæological and epigraphical remains have been brought to light Thus, the inscriptions of Nāgājunakonda have opened a new world of facts and ideas and enabled me to write more than one chapter (see chaps II, IV and VIII) on the Ikshvākus, whereas the French savant had to be content with twelve lines The two Kantēru and the Pedda Vēgi copper-plates had not been discovered when Dr Dubreuil wrote on the Śāṅkāyanas They have thrown new light on the history of the dynasty They have been edited by the late Mr K V Lakshmanarao and Mr M S Sarma in the

*Maharaja's College Magazine*, October 1922, and in *Bharati*, vol. 1. The facts from all the inscriptions concerning religion, administration and other problems have been fully utilized in the chapters dealing with the dynasties concerned as well as in the last two general chapters. In the chapter on the Vishnukundins, again, new sources have come to light after 1920 in the shape of the two Iput copper-plates edited in vol. xvii of the *Epigraphia Indica*. The Ananda Gotra is a dynasty which does not figure in Dr. Dubreuil's book. I have written a few paragraphs on the same based upon their stone and copper plate inscriptions.

Though much has been written on the Pallavas by Dr. S. K. Iyengar, Mr. P. T. S. Iyengar, Mr. Gopalan and others, certain facts connected with the dynasty are still obscure. Some new light is thrown in chapter vi on the origin of the Pallavas. In chapter ix, the relations among the Pallavas, the Cholas and the Kadambas, the genealogical tree and the question of two Pallava dynasties, are dealt with at length. I have not dealt with the problem of Trilochana Pallava here as my paper on this little known king has been already published by Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar in his *History of Tamil Culture*, pp. 383-88 (1929). In chapter xi which sketches briefly the interrelation of Andhra and Kalinga the beginning of the Ganga era is indicated. The chapter on commerce and colonisation reveals for the first time the widespread activities of the ancient Āndhras in those two fields. Administrative details gathered from the inscriptions form the subject matter of the last chapter.

Finally, a few words on Dr. Dubreuil's learned Foreword.

(1) The Doctor is of opinion that the Ikshvākus replaced the Śātavāhanas in the *Telugu country*. While the *trend* of my opinion also is, more or less, the same as indicated in pages 6, 15, 38, 70, 78, 83, and 86 of my book, it may be noted that traces of the dynasty have been found only in Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, Jaggayyapēṭa and Amarāvati.

(2) 'The Pallavas took the place of the Ikshvākus towards 275 A.D.' in the Amarāvati region. I inclined towards a date later than the accepted 225 A.D. for the beginning of Pallava rule in my thesis on *The origin of Saivism and its history in the Tamil land* (pp. 49-51). But, the absence of Ikshvāku remains in the Ceded Districts and Nellore emboldened me to fill with the Pallavas the void created by the disappearance of the Śātavāhanas from that region in 225 A.D.

(3) The Pallavas were displaced by the Ananda Gotra in the country of Amarāvati in the Fifth Century (about 400-450 A D) On pages 109 and 110 of my book may be read two footnotes assigning this new dynasty to the Fifth Century, more or less But, I revised my opinion for two reasons the Māngadur grant in Vengorashtra (about 450 A D) and the equation of Kandara's grandson and *Vegavatīsanātha* which I took to mean Lord of Kanchi

(4) The Vishnukundins replaced the family of Ānanda in the Amarāvati region in about 450-500 A D On pages 109 and 113 of my book I refer to the inscription at Velpūru, and on pages 38 and 112 of my book I raise a doubt if Amarāpura was the same as Amarāvati But, from these two pieces of evidence can we conclude that the Pallavas had no sway over the *present Guntūr District* between 400 and 500 A D ? It is more than what we can say at present

In the chronological and genealogical tables at the end I have followed the dates and facts given in the body of the book

While correcting the proofs of this Preface I noticed the publication of *Epigraphia Indica*, vol xx, pt 1 (January 1929) and *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* (1927-8) which contain very useful information on the Ikshvākus and Nāgārjunakonda In the former the inscriptions of Nāgārjunakonda are edited by the talented savant Dr Vogel He reads the third Ikshvāku as *Ehuvula* and not *Bahubala* He raises the issue if Nāgārjunakonda was once the capital of Dhānyakataka (see p 51 below) He inclines to the view that Nāgārjuna lived in Nāgārjunakonda for some time (see p 58 below) The inscription of Moḍa the Śaka at Nāgārjunakonda confirms my view of the foreign influences on Andhra history and culture (p 68 below) Lastly, according to Dr Vogel, 'Bodhisri does not appear to have been related to the royal family of the Ikshvākus'

The bibliography at the end contains the names of all the books and journals that I have consulted for writing this book

Before closing this preface I may be permitted to put in a word in grateful acknowledgment of the great encouragement given to me by Dr Sir S Radakrishnan the present world-renowned Vice-Chancellor

VIZIANAGRAM  
December 8, 1931

K R. SUBRAMANIAN





## ERRATA

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>Read</i>	<i>For</i>
4	35	<i>Aitareya</i>	<i>Aitareya</i>
6	1	Bhattiprolu <sup>1</sup>	Bhattiprolu
6	19	Tamil culture	Tamils
6	30	<i>Early Āndhra history</i>	<i>Early History of Āndhradēsa</i>
7	17	107-128	102-128
11	8	Chejarla	Chējrāla
11	33	Sattanapalle (Sata- vāhanapalle)	Vinukonda
21	1	interest	nterest
22	20	<i>Kalpa</i>	<i>Tantra</i>
28	21	Viśākḥapatnam	Vizāgapatnam
35	7	at Bairavakonda near	at
37	14	Śātavāhana	Āndhra
48	13	one storeyed	one storeyed
49	25	motifs	motifis
60	31	<i>Kalpa</i>	<i>Tantra</i>
62	24	superstitious	superstitions
67	31	Śātavāhana	Āndhra
81	25	<i>Vishnu</i> , amsa IV, ch 2, 3, 4 (slokas 72 and 111)	<i>Vishnu</i> IV, 2, 3
85	25	Omit the sentence ' In all probability etc '	
86	8	pupils	nuns
98	30	Vishnugopa and others	Vishnugopa
100	Footnote 1	This genealogical table is part of the body of the book and is followed in the book	
105	34	Tamil culture	Tamils
107	17	nephew	cousin
112	18	Kumālavishnu II	Kumāravishnu III
122	12	Śātavāhana	Āndhra
124	42	Trilingi	Girjngi
131	9	Śātavāhanas	Āndhras



## ABBREVIATIONS

A B I A	Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology (Leyden)
Aham	Ahanānūru
A B O R I	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (Poona)
A H of the Dec	Ancient History of the Deccan by Dr Dubreuil
A R A S I	Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India
A S W I	Archæological Survey of Western India (Report)
B N Ry	Bengal-Nagpur Railway
Bud	Buddhist
Bom Gaz	Bombay Gazetteer
C P	Copper-plates
E C	Epigraphia Carnatica
E H of India	Early History of India by Dr V A Smith
E I	Epigraphia Indica
Fig	Figure
I A	Indian Antiquary
Ins	Inscription
G O	Government Order
J B B R A S	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
J O R	Journal of Oriental Research (Madras)
J I H	Journal of Indian History (Madras)
J R A S	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London)
J A S B	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
J P T S	Journal of the Palī Text Society
J B O R S	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society
M A R	Madras Archæological Report (Southern Circle)
M E R	Madras Epigraphist's Report (Southern Circle)

M S M Ry	Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway
Mys Arch Rep	Mysore Archæological Report
Puram	Puṇanānūru
Q J M S	Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore
Q J A H R S .	Quarterly Journal of the Āndhra Historical Research Society (Rajahmundry)
S I I	South Indian Inscriptions
S I B	South Indian Buddhist (Antiquities).
Yr	Year

## CONTENTS

FOREWORD BY DR JOUVEAU-DUBREUIL	V-X
PRFFACE BY THE AUTHOR	XI-XVII
ERRATA	XIX
ABBREVIATIONS	XXI

### PART I

BUDDHIST REMAINS IN ĀNDHRA	1-64
----------------------------	------

CHAP I INTRODUCTORY	3-10
---------------------	------

Āndhra Buddhism pre Asokan 3—The age of Asoka 4  
—The Sātavāhanas the earliest known Āndhra  
Dynasty 5-6—Āndhra Imperial power 7—Telugu  
ancient and same as Āndhra 8-10

CHAP II THE MONUMENTS OF ĀNDHRA	11-36
---------------------------------	-------

Distribution 11—Situation 12—Stūpas 13—The age  
of the Stūpas 14-16—The style of the Stupas 17—  
The sculptures of the Stūpas 18-21—The relic-  
caskets 22—The images of the Buddha 23—Chaityas  
24-25—'terra-cotta 26—Vihāras 26-27—Influences  
of Buddhism 28-29—Decline of Buddhism 29-32—  
Usurpation of Buddhist centres 33—Survival of  
Buddhist art 34-35—Some more remains 36

CHAP III THE MARBLE OF AMARĀVATĪ	37-52
----------------------------------	-------

Situation of and works on Amarāvati 37—Date of  
Amarāvati 38—Grandeur of Amarāvati 39—The  
Outer Rail 40-41—The Inner Rail 42-43—The  
Chakra Pillar 43—Images of the Buddha 44—  
Animals and men in the sculptures 44-45—Social  
life 45-46—Influences of Amarāvati sculptures 47—  
Architectural styles 47-49—Foreign influences on  
Indian art 48-49—Some opinions 49-50—Hsueh-  
Tsang's Dhānyakāṭaka 51-52.

CHAP IV	NĀGĀRJUNA BODHISATVA, THE KING OF MONKS	53-63
	Early life 53—His omniscience 54-55—His works 56—The Hill of Nāgārijuna 57-58—The date of Nāgārijuna 59—The contemporary kings 60—The age of the saint 61—Nāgārijuna's successors 62-63	

## PART II

THE HISTORY OF ĀNDHRA BETWEEN 225 AND 610 A D	65-152
---	--------

CHAP V	INTRODUCTORY	67-70
	Decline of the Śātavahana dynasty 67—The foreign element 68—The assertion of Śātavāhana feudatories 68-69—a bird's eye view 69-70	

CHAP VI	THE EARLY PALLAVAS (ABOUT 225-340 A D)	71-80
	The Pallavas, a mixed stock 71—Nāgas and Tittayar 72—Nāgas and Aruvaṭur 73—Dr S K Iyengar's theory 74—Mr Rasanāyagam's theory 75—Genealogy and events 76-79—Vishnugopa the last of the early Pallavas 79-80	

CHAP VII	THE IKSHVĀKUS (ABOUT 225-340 A D)	81-87
	Śrī Rāma's dynasty 81—Ikshvāku relationship coveted 81-82—Ikshvākus and Śrī Parvata Āndhras 82-83—Chāntamūla 84—Virapurushadatta 84-85—Bahubala 86-87	

CHAP VIII	THE ŚĀLANKYANAS (ABOUT 275-450 A D)	88-94
	The Brihatphalāyanas 88—Śālankāyana genealogy 89-91—Chronology and some events 91-93—Brahmanical Revival 93-94	

CHAP IX	THE LATER PALLAVAS (ABOUT 340-610 A D)	95-110
	Genealogy 95-102—Chronology 102-103—Were there two branches? 103—Was there a Chōla interregnum? 104-105—The Pallava-Kadamba rivalry 106-108—The Ānandra Gotra 109-110	

CHAP X THE VISHNUKUNDINS (ABOUT 350-610 A.D.)	111-118
Original Home 111—Genealogy 112-114—Chronology and events 114-117—Their capital and coins 118	
CHAP XI THE KINGS OF KALINGA	119-125
Extent of Kalinga 119—Samudragupta's time 120-121—Saktivarman 122—Chandravaiman and others 122—Indra perhaps the founder of the Gangas 122-123—Hastivarman and Indriavarman, Early Gangas 124-125	
CHAP XII THE EXPANSION OF THE CHĀLUKYAS	126-131
Importance of Chālukyan rule 126—Origin 127—History 127-128—Pulakēśin II's <i>digvijaya</i> 128—Kulīja Vishnuvardhana 129—Deccan and South India in 611 A.D. 130-131	
CHAP XIII ĀNDHRA CULTURE ABROAD	132-144
Rivers and coastline 132—Āndhra commerce ancient 133—Ptolemy and Roman coins 134—Śātavāhana period 135—Burma 136-137—Malay Peninsula 138—Indo-China 139-140—Ceylon 141—The Spice Islands 142-143—Results 143-144	
CHAP XIV THE ADMINISTRATION	145-152
Local divisions 145—The officials 146-147—Political divisions of Āndhra 148-150—Revenues 151—Charities 151-152	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	153-162
GENEALOGICAL TABLES	163-166
LEADING DATES	167-171
INDEX	173-186

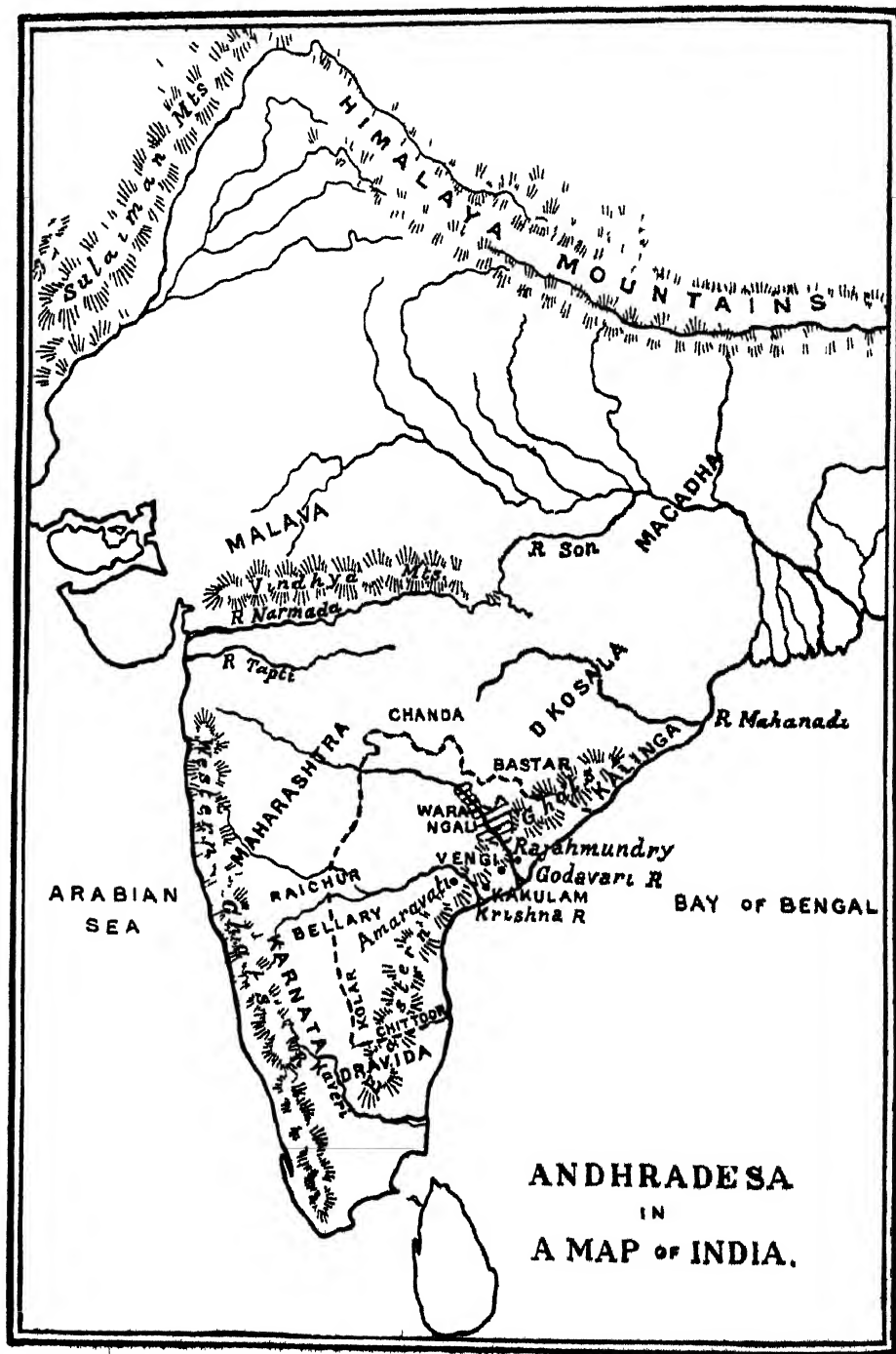


## MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

	<i>Maps</i>	FACING PAGE
1	A MAP OF THE GREAT ROADS OF ANDHRA BY DR J DUBREUIL	IV
2	ĀNDHRADESA IN A MAP OF INDIA	1
3	BUDDHIST TIRTHAS OF ĀNDHRADESA	11
4	ĀNDHRADESA AND GREATER INDIA	133

	<i>Photos</i>	
1	A SCENE FROM THE LIFE OF BUDDHA	19
2	A SCYTHIAN WARRIOR	21
3	RELICS	22
4.	GUNTAPALLE ARCH	24
5	UDAYAGIRI	95
6	UNDAVALLI	118





**PART I**

**BUDDHIST REMAINS IN ĀNDHRA**



# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTORY

As early as 1912-3, Mr Longhurst wrote that 'the Buddhist sites in the northern districts of the Presidency (of Madras) are of far more real archæological value than many of the great Hindu monuments of the South' <sup>1</sup> A close study of the numerous ancient monuments of Āndhra reveals not only the antiquity of her civilization but also its exact nature, degree and affinities

### *Āndhra Buddhism pre-Asōkan*

Much credence may not be given to the story that the Buddha himself visited Āndhra <sup>2</sup> But, it cannot be doubted that Āndhra Buddhism was pre Asōkan The Āndhrias were already the followers of the Law in the time of the Emperor <sup>3</sup> Neither he nor Dēvanampiya Tissa of Ceylon is said to have despatched a mission to Āndhra Early Buddhist stories speak of the relic Stūpas of Majerika<sup>4</sup> which may be identified with the lower valley of the Krishna <sup>5</sup> Early Buddhist literature<sup>6</sup> refers to the schools of *Andhaka* monks which were special to Āndhra and is confirmed on the point by the early inscriptions found in the

<sup>1</sup> *M A R*, p 1

<sup>2</sup> Watters, *On Yuan Chwang II*, p 209 The preaching Buddha is a very familiar figure in Āndhra art

<sup>3</sup> *C I I* vol 1 The inscriptions of Asoka edited by Dr Hultsch, Rockedict xiii For Buddhist missions see V A Smith *Asōka*, p 166 and Geiger *Mahāvamsa*

<sup>4</sup> *J A S B*, vi, p 856 xvii, Part II, *J R A S* 1907, pp 341-6, Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, pp 611 2 For the story of the tooth relic, Turnour *Mahāvamsa*, p 241, *Daladavamsa* (in Pali) of a later date, also *I A*, vol xvi, p 4, *J R A S* 1906, p 665

<sup>5</sup> Majer and Pātha M̐jer are two ancient places in Dīvi taluk, Krishna district The country round seems to have been called Manjeradēsa The Manjera is a tributary of the Godāvari but apparently Nāga Majerika of the Buddhist stories did not extend so far

<sup>6</sup> *Points of controversy* or *Kathāvatthu* (Oxford University Press) which is a part of *Abhidharma Pitaka* *J P T S* 1889—*Kathāvatthu atthakatha*; 1888, pp 57, 77, 96, 1904-5, p 67 *J R A S* 1891, p 409, 1892, p 14, 1910, p 413

country<sup>1</sup> However, the date of the beginning of Buddhism in Āndhra, the part played by the Nandas<sup>2</sup> and the early Mauryas<sup>3</sup> in the propagation of the Gospel, the causes for the phenomenal triumph of Buddhism compared with Brahminism and Jainism<sup>4</sup> are problems not only obscure and difficult to solve but beyond the scope of this book

### *The age of Asōka*

The earliest historical monuments of Āndhra are Buddhist None of them is pre-Asōkan However, as Asoka is known to have conquered only Kalinga, Āndhra must have been brought under Mauryan rule by Chandragupta or his son Bindusara<sup>5</sup> The connection of Asōka with Āndhra is commemorated by his rock edicts near Gooty<sup>6</sup> Huen tsang writes of Asōkan stupas south of the capitals of Kalinga and Kōsala and near the capitals of Āndhra and *Chuliye*<sup>7</sup> Some of the stupas of Āndhra must be counted among the thousands erected by Asoka all over India

<sup>1</sup> The *Chaityakas* are referred to in an Amravati inscription *E I V*, Ap No 1248 and 1250, the *Pūrvāsailas* in a Nāgājunakonda inscription *M E R* 1927, Ap Nos 214 and 219 of 1927 and in an inscription at Allūru, *M E R* 1924, p 97, and the *Avarasailas* in a Nāgārjunakonda inscription *M F R* 1927, Ap Nos 214 and 219 of 1927, and in a Peddivegi inscription *M E R* 1927, Ap 219 of 1927 the *Avarasailas* of Kamtakasāli (Ghantāsālī) are referred to See *J P T S*, 1888, for two more peculiarly Āndhra schools—the *Rājagiriya*s and the *Siddhāntika*s

<sup>2</sup> There are reminiscences of Nanda rule (the Nandas were not followers of Brahminism) as far south as Mysore in later inscriptions *E C* Bandanikke and Kupatur inscriptions

<sup>3</sup> A Chandragupta is associated with Śrī Śailam in the *Sthalapustana* (*M A R*, 1917-18, p 20) and with Śravaṇa Belgola in Mysore (*E C*, II) Chandraguptapattanam near Śrī Śailam was an ancient city Bindusāra was a great conqueror according to Tāranātha (*I A* vol iv, p 363) There are allusions to Mōriya invasions in *Purāṇa*, p 282 and in *Aham*, pp 251, 281

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps the cause is to be sought in the less austere, less exclusive and simpler nature of Buddhism which, in practice, absorbed much of the *Dasyu* cult The references to the Āndhras in the *Ātriya Brāhmaṇa*, in the *Laws of Baudhāyana*, in the *Mahābhārata* (*vide* Aranya, Bhishma and Drōṇa parvas) and in the *Code of Manu* indicate that the Āndhras were not Āryan in religion

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps Asōka only subdued a mighty rebellion with great force

<sup>6</sup> Asōka is said to have gone on a special mission to the south according to the new edicts

<sup>7</sup> Watters vol II, pp 198, 200, 209, 224 The pilgrim's capital of *Chuliye* was perhaps near Gooty (Gutti, after Gupta)

In the most ancient of the Amarāvati marbles may be seen the same spaciousness and vigour as characterize the sculptures of Bhilsa and Sānchi. In the most ancient of Andhra inscriptions at Bhattiprōlu may be seen a southern variety of the Asōkan Brāhmī alphabet,<sup>1</sup> the parent of the later Telugu script. Thus, in the reign of the illustrious Emperor, Āndhra culture came within the first close grips of northern sway, though, politically, the Āndhras 'doubtless enjoyed a considerable degree of autonomy under their own Rāja' <sup>2</sup>

*The Śātavāhanas, the earliest known Āndhra dynasty*

After the death of Asōka, (232 B C) the Āndhras assumed independence and their kings the Śātavāhanas began a career of expansion which was crowned by succession to the imperial throne of Magadha. The Purānas, speaking of the dynasties of Magadha, assign thirty Āndhrabhūtyas or Āndhras for about 450 years after the fall of the Kanwas<sup>3</sup>. Since it has been found that the names of the kings of the Śātavāhana dynasty so far discovered in inscriptions are identical with some of the names supplied by the Purānas, it has been rightly inferred that the Śātavāhanas of the inscriptions and the Āndhras of the Purānic lists were the same. It is not possible on chronological or other grounds to assign for the Āndhra kings a period of four centuries and a half in the history of Magadha <sup>4</sup>. And the Śātavāhanas were essentially a dynasty of the Deccan according to tradition and other sources. If the Śātavāhanas were in origin a dynasty of the Āndhra or Telugu country or if the Pauṇīnīka based his statement about the Āndhra affinity of the Satavāhanas on the fact that he found and knew them only as rulers of Āndhra, is a problem not easy to solve <sup>5</sup>. However, it may be noted that Āndhra was a well-organized and powerful state according to Megasthenes (end of the fourth century B C) and that the earliest kings of Āndhra according to unassailable inscriptional testimony were the Śātavāhanas, if we leave out of account the unidentified Kubēra of

<sup>1</sup> *E I* vol II, p 323 Buhler, *Indian Brahmi alphabet*, p 24

<sup>2</sup> V A Smith, *Early History of India* (1924), p 218

<sup>3</sup> Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p 72

<sup>4</sup> R G Bhandarkar, *Ancient History of the Deccan*

<sup>5</sup> *A B O R I*, Poona, vol 1, p 21, for the view of Dr Sukthankar that the Śātavāhanas were not Andhras,



Bhattiprōlu, perhaps a feudatory prince (third century 1 C) The Mackenzie manuscripts tell us of a Mukkanti Kāduvetti or Trilōchana Pallava<sup>2</sup> (in one of them affiliated to Salivahana)<sup>3</sup> as the earliest king of the Telugu country. Some Buddhist stories have a nāga king Kāla (curiously enough resembling Kalabhaira Pallava) in Majerika, 2 e, somewhere at the mouth of the Krishna.<sup>4</sup> Purāṇic tradition speaks of the Ikshvakus as having ruled over large parts of the Deccan. There are also other traditions of Āndhra Vishnu and his father Suchandra as the earliest rulers and the latter is mentioned as such in a late Buddhist work.<sup>5</sup> These conflicting evidences, however, do not prevent us for the present from affirming that the Satavāhanas were of the Andhra lineage and their hegemony extended from the earliest historical times over Andhradēsa whence they expanded later into Mahārāshtra<sup>6</sup> and Kārnāta,<sup>7</sup> into Vidisa<sup>8</sup> and Māgadha<sup>9</sup> and even as

<sup>1</sup> *E I*, vol 11, p 323

<sup>2</sup> For full references to this semi-mythical figure, see my note 'Was Karikāla a contemporary of Trilōchana Pallava?' in *The history of the Tamils* by P. T. Srinivasan Iyengar pp 383-386 (Madras, 1949). Also, *Trilōchana Pallava and Karikāla Chola* by Dr. Venkatarām in 1951 (Madras, 1929).

<sup>3</sup> Wilson, *Catalogue*, vol 1, p cxxiv, Taylor, *Catalogue*, vol III, p 216 Rice, *Mysore ins.*, p liii

<sup>4</sup> Kālabhaira is found in the Vijayalūr inscription and in the Vijayapalayam copper plates. For references to the grants see ch ix. The Buddhist stories referred to raise the issue if the Andhras or Telugus were nagas which name occurs largely in inscriptions and in literature. For further light on the subject, see my thesis on *The origin of Saivism*, etc. (Supplement to the Journal of the Madras University, part II, 1929) pp 12-13 and my article on *Early history of Andhradēsa* in the *Hindu (Illustrated Weekly)*, May 18, 1930 p 4

<sup>5</sup> *Ārya Maṇḍuśrī Mūla Kalpa*, vol III, p 621, st 1 (Triv. Skt Series). For the tradition, see Campbell, *Telugu Grammar*, Int p ii, who quotes *Andhra Kāvya*.

<sup>6</sup> Inscriptions of the founder of Śātavāhana independence, Śimuka, of his brother Krishna and of a successor of his, Śātakarṇi an *Aśvamedhin* and contemporary of Khāravela are found there. *A S W I R.* vol v, pp. 59, 66

<sup>7</sup> Śātavāhana coins and inscriptions containing the name Śātakarṇi have been found in Mysore and Kanara. *E C* vii, Part I

<sup>8</sup> *E I* vol 11, p 87

<sup>9</sup> Andhakavinda near Rājagṛha and Andhavana near Sravastī occur in early Buddhist books. *Mahāvagga* (Trübner)

far as the South Pennār in Dravida <sup>1</sup> The very fact that the Sātavāhanas were in the Northern Circars towards the end of their rule may indicate that they had discreetly retired home in the years of their decline At any rate, no conclusive arguments have been put forward to upset the accepted theory

*Āndhra imperial power*

Who among the Āndhra kings was responsible for the Kanwa tragedy? Did the Āndhra Śātavāhanas rule for some time from Pātaliputra? Or did the political centre of gravity shift to Paithan, leaving Northern India to its fate at the hands of the Śakas and the Kushānas? These questions cannot be satisfactorily answered The association of the Sātakarnis with the Ganges region in the Tamil *Silappadhikāram*<sup>2</sup> indicates that the Āndhra dynasty had a brief spell of supremacy over imperial Magadha

A large part of the Deccan was under the Sātavāhanas from the time of their independence from Mauryan yoke till the reign of Gautamīputra Sātakarni, No 23 in the Purāṇic list (102-128 A D)<sup>3</sup> He was the hero of the war of independence against the aggressive foreign hordes of Śakas, Pahlavas and Yavanas,<sup>4</sup> the restorer of the castes and of *Dharma* (which were jeopardized by the invaders) and the lord of the whole of Dakṣiṇāpatha<sup>5</sup> With the advent of Gautamīputra's son into power, there was a set-back to Śātavāhana dominion in the west<sup>6</sup> and the dynasty retreated slowly towards and established itself in the south and east where the inscriptions of Pulumāyī Vāsīṣṭīputra,<sup>7</sup> Yajña Śrī,<sup>8</sup> Śiva Śrī,<sup>9</sup> Chandra Śrī,<sup>10</sup> Vijaya<sup>11</sup> and Pulumāyī IV<sup>12</sup> have

<sup>1</sup> Śātavāhana coins have been discovered as far as the South Pennār Rapson Indian coins, p 22

<sup>2</sup> pp 540-1 (Mah V S Iyer's edition)

<sup>3</sup> This is the date given to him by V A Smith, pp 221-2

<sup>4</sup> The Śakas had already carved for themselves a principality round Nāsik and Nahapāna was one of the Śaka kings of Nāsik—*A S W I R* vol iv, p 102 The Śaka inroads into the Deccan might have been caused by Kushānā expansion into North India even as far as Pātaliputra as evidenced by Chinese histories *I A* vol ix, p 16, vol xxxii pp 345 and 383

<sup>5</sup> *E I* vol viii, pp 61, 67

<sup>6</sup> The new foe of the Śātavāhanas was the Śaka dynasty of Mālwa founded by Chastana (78 A D)

<sup>7</sup> *E I* vol x, Ap No 1248

<sup>8</sup> *E I* vol x, Ap No 1279

<sup>11</sup> *M A R* 1910-1 p 14.

<sup>5</sup> *E I* vol i, p 95

<sup>10</sup> *E I* vol xviii, p 316

<sup>12</sup> *E I* vol xiv, p. 153,

been found. The author of the *Matsya Purāṇa* depicts the closing scene of Āndhra rule as full of anarchy and sin brought about by *mlechchas* and Yavanas. The last of the Śātavāhanas may be said to have ruled in the first quarter of the third century A.D.

The period of Śātavāhana rule in the Deccan (about 225 B.C. – 225 A.D.) witnessed the growth of commercial and colonial intercourse and the development of Buddhism and Buddhist art. Nowhere can be seen to-day such a large number of ancient Buddhist foundations as in Āndhra. They are the relics of a culture which has gone to make up Āndhra civilization. All the earlier culture of the Deccan came to a definite shape under Buddhist stimulus out of which emerged the new Brahminical culture of the post-Śātavāhana period. The third century A.D. was thus the culmination of one epoch and the beginning of another in political and cultural history.

### *Telugu ancient and same as Āndhra*

The Buddhists, wherever they went, used and improved the *vernaculars* or the languages spoken by the people for purposes of preaching and writing *vyākhyānas*. In what state Telugu was in the early centuries of the Christian era we do not know. But from certain references, it may be reasonably inferred that Telugu was *spoken* in the bulk of the area in which it is used to-day.<sup>1</sup> Telugu language and literature are certainly much older than the earliest Telugu inscription.<sup>2</sup> Doubts have been

<sup>1</sup> For the limits of Telugu land to-day, see Grierson *Linguistic Survey of India* (1927), vol. 1, part 1, Intro. p. 91 and vol. iv, p. 577. Roughly, the Circars between Pulicat and Chicacole, Chittoor, the Ceded Districts minus a large portion of Bellary District, the eastern half of the Nizam's Dominion and a small bit of the Central Provinces comprise the Telugu speaking area. The earliest traces of Mahārāṣṭrī and Kannada are found in the *Sapta satī* of Hala (first century A.D.) and in the Oxyrhynchus papyrus (*Q J M S*, 1928). A change of language in Āndhra is reported in northern Buddhist books (Watters, ii, p. 210). Ptolemy's Trilinga in Arakan and according to some, the Talaings of Burma may be said to have been derived from Telinga or Telugu.

<sup>2</sup> The first Telugu Grammar is the work of the famous Nannayya Bhaṭṭa (eleventh century A.D.). So, Telugu literature is older. Yuddhamalla's inscription in Bezvāda is in Telugu (*M E R*, 1910, p. 83). Telugu inscriptions and words may be found in the period before Yuddhamalla. Archaic Telugu inscriptions are found in Nellore and Cuddappah districts assignable

raised if the country of the Telugus was known as Āndhra from the earliest times. Āndhra was the name of the Telugu country from the third century A D according to inscriptional and literary evidences<sup>1</sup>. Even before that date, the Telugu country must have been otherwise known as Āndhra, as *Vadugu* (the Tamil name for Telugu) and Āndhra had become interchangeable by that time. If we do not identify the Āndhras of Megasthenes's account and of the inscriptions of Asōka with the ancestors of the present day Telugus and as the inhabitants of the present Telugu belt of land in Eastern Deccan, then they would be without a local habitation. Again, Buddhist literature of an early period locates the Āndhra country south of the Tēlvāhana and assigns to it special schools of monks popular only there. Some of these *Andhaka* schools are mentioned in inscriptions at

to the seventh century. Huen Tsang remarks a change of language in Āndhra. Mahēndravarmān I Pallavā bears some Telugu *burudas*. There are stray Telugu words and forms in earlier inscriptions, e.g. the Chikkulla and the Peddavēgi grants. See chapters X and VIII for references. *Kathāsaritśāgana* (I, 36-49, 51) based on the ancient *Bṛihat-katha* speaks of *Dēsiya* as different from *Sanskṛita* and *Prākṛita*. Colloquial Telugu forms are said to be found in Halā's *Sapta satī* and in Vararuchi's *Prākṛita Prakāśa*. There are strong traditions of the ancientness of Telugu. For this and for the definition of *Āndhra* and *Telugu*, see my article on *Early Āndhra History* in the *Hindu* (illustrated) *vide ante*. Also, Rājarāja Nairēndra Pattābhishēka Sanchika (Telugu), Rājahmundry, 1922, for an article by Sōmasēkhara Sarma on Ancient Telugu, pp. 50-72.

<sup>1</sup> See P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar's article in *IA* vol. xlii, p. 276, for the view that Āndhra came to be the name of the Telugu land only after the third century A D. Āndhra is the other name for the Telugu country according to the Mayidavōlu C. P. (*EI* vi, p. 84), Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, Varāhamihira (*IA* xxii, p. 173), the Mahāwamsa (Geiger ch. 41), Buddha ghosha (who wrote *Āndhrābhakatha*), an inscription of the Anandagotra (*SII* v, 155 of 1899, vi, 155A of 1899), Huen tsang and Dandin (*Dasa kumāracharitra* vii). Kumārila Bhatta (eighth century) speaks of *Āndhra Dravida Bhasha* *IA* xlii, p. 200. The *Andhrapatha* of the Mayidavōlu C. P. (third century A D.) is always spoken of as *Vadugavali* in Tamil and there is no reason to think that *Vadugavali* was newly coined after the third century A D. since *Vaduga* as a name for the Telugu seems to be fairly older. (For *Vadugavali*, see *EI* vol. iii, p. 76, *SII* vol. III, pp. 70, 90, *ME R* 1904, p. 15, 1906-7 para 45, *IA* vol. xv, p. 175, Rice *Mysore and Coorg* from ins. p. 17). Gautamiputra was Lord of Dakshinā patha (which extended upto Śrī Sailam according to the later work *Ārya Manjusri Mūla Kalpa*) and Lord of Śrīthana mountain (Śrī Sailam) according to his son's ins. at Nāsik. The Periplus speaks of Maisolia as part of a kingdom extending far inland (80 A D.).

Amāvati, Nāgārjunakonda and other places and as such were beyond doubt, in the Telugu country. Lastly, if the Telugu country was not known as Āndhra in ancient times, how else was it known? Portions of the Telugu country were known as Majerika or Manjeradēsa and Māsāla<sup>1</sup> neither of which was the name of the whole of Āndhra extending from Tirupati to the Tel and from the sea as far west as a line drawn about the middle of the Nizam's dominion<sup>2</sup>. The recent discovery of the rock edicts of Āsoka near Gooty is one more proof that Āndhra or Telugu land was a well marked division of the Empire where he did not forget to immortalize himself. From these arguments, therefore, it follows that 'Āndhra' and 'Telugu' denoted the same territorial unit from the earliest times though there does not seem to be any etymological connection between the two words. The patronage of Pākṛit literature by the Satavāhanas was due to the religious and cultural influences of the age and the undeveloped state of Telugu from a literary standpoint.

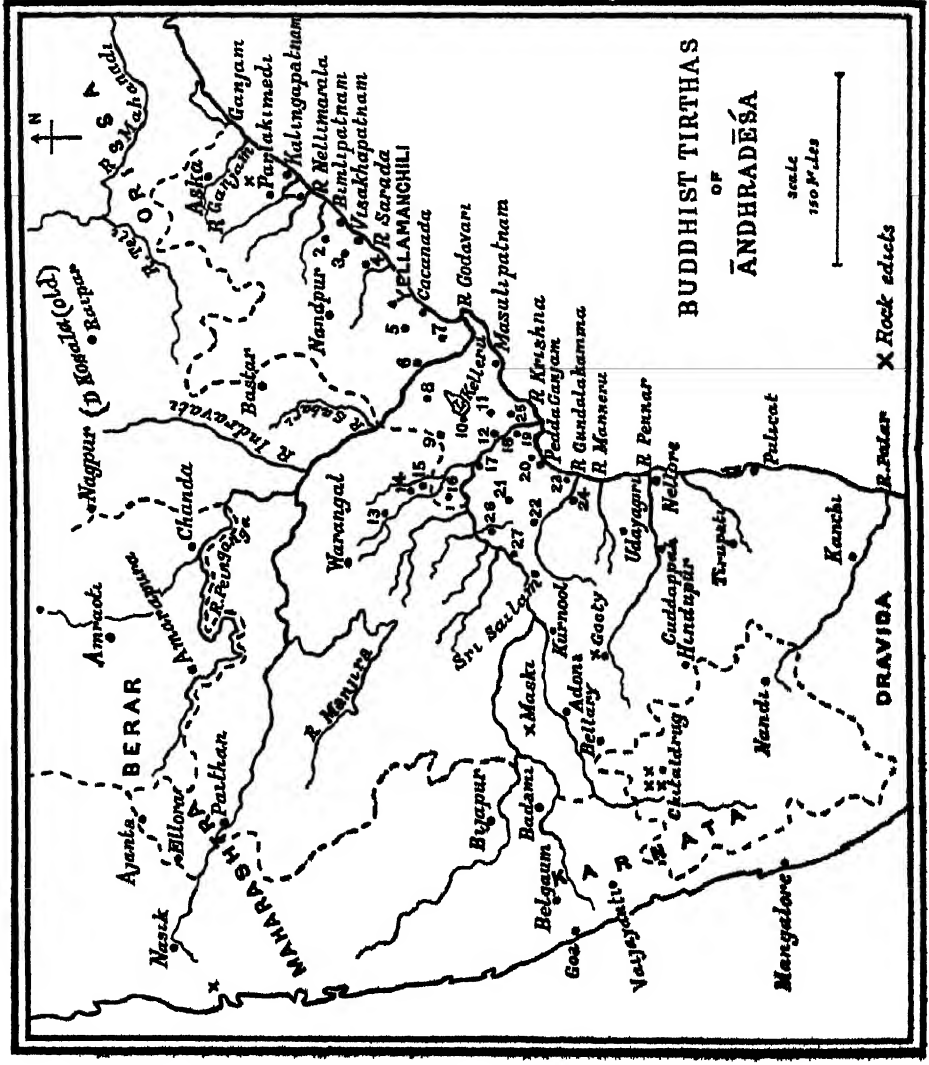
Buddhism gave a great impetus to the advancement of Āndhra civilization in the earliest period of Āndhrā history and thus left rich legacies to the succeeding ages. To collect and study those legacies and to appraise their true value will be the task of the succeeding chapters of this part.

<sup>1</sup> Matsyā, Ch. 22. Mahāvagga v. 13, 12. Masāla is found in the Greek accounts.

<sup>2</sup> For the change of language into *Vadugu* (lit. northern) beyond Vengadam (Tirupati) see *Tamiz varalāru* (in Tamil) by K. S. Srinivasa Pillai of Tanjore Pt. I (1922) p. 1 where he quotes Panampiranār, a contemporary of Tolkāppiyar. See also Aham 213 and 295. For the Tel as a limit of Āndhra, see the Jātakas trans. by Cowell, vol. 1, p. 12.



- 1 Chitrcole
- 2 Vizianagram
- 3 Simhachalam
- 4 Anakapalle
- 5 Pithapuram
- 6 Rajahmundry
- 7 Ramachandrapur
- 8 Tadipalle, udem
- 9 Guntapalle
- 10 Ellore
- 11 Gudivada
- 12 Bezvada
- 13 Kammammet
- 14 Madira
- 15 Yerrupalem
- 16 Iggavvypeta
- 17 Amravati
- 18 Tenali
- 19 Bhuttuprolu
- 20 Bapatla
- 21 Vissarupet
- 22 Vinukonda
- 23 Kanupurti
- 24 Ongole
- 25 Chantala
- 26 Goli
- 27 Nagarjunikonda



## CHAPTER II

### THE MONUMENTS OF ĀNDHRA

#### *Distribution*

THROUGHOUT the Āndhra county, there are remains of Buddhist monuments. From Śālihundam in the north to Chinna Gañjām in the south and from Gooty in the west to Bhattiprōlu in the east, the soil of Āndhra was trodden by selfless monks and nuns from centuries before Christ. Rāmatīrtham, Sanghārāma, Kodavali, Arugolanu, Guntapalle, Jaggayyapēta, Rāmireddipalle, Allūru, Bezwāda, Guduvāda, Ghantasālā, Nāgārjunakonda, Chējrāla, Garikapadu, Goli, Amarāvati, Peddamaddur, Pedda Gañjām and Kanuparti have yielded precious relics of a glorious civilization that flourished in Āndhra in the earliest period of her history.<sup>1</sup> The largest number of stūpas, chaityas

<sup>1</sup>Śālihundam, 6 miles W of Kalugapatnam Gañjām District

Chinna Gañjām, M S M Railway, Guntūri District

Gooty, Anantapur District, 5 miles from which Aśōkan edicts were found

Bhattiprōlu, M S M Ry, Guntūr District

Ramatīrtham, 8 miles N E of Vizianagram, B N Ry

Sanghārāma, near Anakapalle, M S M Ry

Kodavali, 9 miles N W of Pithāpuram, M S M Ry

Arugolanu, Tādipalligūdem Taluk, W Godāvāri District

Guntapalle, 6 miles W of Kamavarapu Kōta, W Godāvāri District

Jaggayyapēta, Nandigama Taluk, Krishna District

Rāmireddipalle, 6 miles from Mādira, N S G Ry Also called Gummididurru

Allūru, 5 miles from Yerrupālem, N S G Ry

Bezwāda, M S M Ry, Krishna District

Guduvāda, M S M Ry, Krishna District

Ghantasālā, 13 miles W of Masulipatnam, M S M Ry

Nāgārjunakonda, 1 mile from Pullāreddigūdem and 15 miles from Mācherla, M S M Ry, Guntur District The site is on the right bank of the Krishna

Chējrāla, Narasaraopet Taluk Guntūr District

Garikapādu, Vinukonda Taluk, Guntūr District

Goli, 3 miles from Rentachintala, Gurzāla Taluk, Guntūr District

Amarāvati, 18 miles from Guntūr



and vihāras have been brought to light in the districts of Guntur and Krishna especially along the banks of the Krishna and her tributaries. While some ancient monuments have been destroyed by brick-quarriers, there are still unexcavated mounds awaiting the magic touch of the archæologist which, on being opened in due course, may add to the historical materials <sup>1</sup>

### *Situation*

The Buddhists generally chose for their monuments and residential quarters places which were endowed by nature with plentiful water supply and with beautiful scenery and which were removed by some distance from the villages and crowded cities. Where the river or stream did not flow by the establishment, the Buddhists constructed big tanks and reservoirs traces of which may be found to day in Bhattiprōlu and Jaggayyapeta. The courses of rivers have changed in historical times and it is, therefore, not unlikely that once the Krishna flowed nearer the establishments of Nāgārjunakonda, Bhattiprōlu and Ghantasala and that, similarly, the Munyēru and the Paluru were within a few minutes' walk from the monasteries of Ramireddipalle and Jaggayyapeta respectively. On the hills of Ramathatham which is about four miles from the Nellimarala, a tank 65' broad was dug, and the waters of the perennial springs there were collected in it. More interesting than the arrangement for water-supply was the system of drainage to which the monks of Ramathatham paid equal attention. Traces of a canal from the Krishna (the important means of communication between the monasteries on or near the river and her tributaries) to the quarters of the monks are visible at Nāgārjunakonda. There is inscriptional evidence for the digging of wells and tanks on the hills hard

Peddammaddur, 4 miles S. E. of Amarāvati

Pedda Gañjām, near Chinna Gañjām, Guntūr District

Kanuparti, 6 miles from Pedda Gañjām

*N B*—There is a paucity of Buddhist relics in Nellore and the Ceded Districts

<sup>1</sup> *M A R* 1889, p 2, 19, 1892, 15 July p 2, 1902, p 18, 1903-4, p 46, 1906-7, p 4, 1907-8, p 8, *M E R* 1923, p 4, 1921-2, p 6 for places containing mounds *M E R* 1925-6, p 3, for vestiges at Velpuru, Guntūr District, *M A R* 1888, 14 July p 2, 14 for vestiges at Mōṭṭipalle and Bāpatla, *M S M Ry*, 1910-11, pp, 66, 70-71 for vestiges at Mavulipatnam, *M, S M, Ry*,

by for the benefit of the clergy residing there To one who has seen the perpetual and delightful flow of waters (now made to irrigate rose and pineapple gardens) on the hills of Simhāchalam,<sup>1</sup> the description by Huen tsang of the arrangements for water-supply in *Po lo mo lo kilu* does not appear a myth The monks knew how to derive the maximum benefit out of the natural advantages—unceasing springs in one place, ever-cool sea breeze in another and magnificently wild scenery in a third

‘ The view from the hill (of Sālihundam on the south bank of the Vamsadhāra) is a very fine one and shows that the Buddhists had excellent taste in choosing a suitable site to set off their peculiar type of monuments When the stūpas were complete with their dome-shaped superstructures, tees and gilded umbrella finials, they must have presented a most imposing appearance on the summit of the hill and formed a conspicuous landmark for many miles in the surrounding country ’<sup>2</sup> Similar is the view from Sanghāiāma, Simhāchalam, Rāmātīrtham and many other places The river with its roaring cataracts, the hills and forests with their wild magnificence and the isolation from the maddening crowds of the plains gave a special value to Nāgārjunakonda which offers even to-day the quietest spots for ‘ the simple living and high thinking ’ and for the communion with Nature that our ascetics desired to practise

### *Stūpas*

Stūpas, tōpes or dāgabas were the tombs erected by the Buddhists over the remains of the Buddha or any Buddhist sage, over sacred texts engraved on metal and over sacred spots Sometimes, stūpas were built in honour of the Buddhas and the teachers The word chaitya originally meant the same as the word stūpa, viz., a funeral mound, but, subsequently ‘ chaitya ’ came to signify a temple in which the stūpa or dāgaba occupied a prominent place in the apse

The cult of the chaityas or stūpas was an ancient one Not only *Siddhas* but also distinguished Rajas received the honour of chaityas being built over their remains The Buddha exhorted

<sup>1</sup> B N Ry *M A R* (1908-9), p 10 There are remains of a Buddhist stūpa on the Daralakonda Hill

<sup>2</sup> *M A R* 1919-20, pp 34-38, for an account of the Buddhist remains of Sālihundam

his followers not to worship him but to give his remains the honours of a *Chakravartin* (Emperor). Accordingly, stupas were erected over his remains and in his memory, and homage was rendered to them. The symbols of Buddhism, the tree, the wheel, the *trīśūla* <sup>1</sup> etc were also revered. At a later stage, in the second century A D, images of the Teacher came to be placed and worshipped in the stūpas, chaityas and viharas. Invariably, there was a congregation of monks near every big stupa and they lived on the alms of the faithful.

### *The age of the stūpas*

Many of the stupas of Āndhra are ancient. The stupa of Bhāṭṭiprōlu has been assigned to the third century B C from the characters of the inscriptions on the relic casket which mostly resemble the Asōkan script <sup>2</sup>. The stūpa ('*mahāchaitya*') of Amarāvati has inscriptions in the Mauryan script and sculptures of an archaic style which date the age of the structure in the same century <sup>3</sup>. Some Mauryan letters of the second century B C were found on the base slabs of the stupa ('*mahāchaitya*') of Jaggayyapēta <sup>4</sup> whose ancientness is, therefore, as undoubted as that of the stūpas of Bhāṭṭiprōlu and Amarāvati. Some of the remains of Guntapalle may be located in the second century B C from a palī inscription of a nun who constructed the steps leading to a monument <sup>5</sup>. Though unassailable inscriptional testimony is lacking as regards some other stupas, they may also be placed in point of date in the same category as those named above, from archæological evidences. The sparse use of stone and absence of sculpture, the use of the dagaba instead of the image in the apse of a chaitya and its nearness to the Tēli (compared with the Buddhist centres of the Kṛishna valley) beyond which the *Andhaka* monks lived according to the

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps an ancient symbol now made to represent the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha.

<sup>2</sup> For the stūpa and inscriptions of *Bhāṭṭiprōlu*, see Rea, *South Indian Buddhist antiquities*, *M A R* 1892, July 15, p 2, *E I* vol. II, p 323. The earlier archæological reports were issued as G O S.

<sup>3</sup> *E I* vol. xv, p 258 for the ins. of *Amarāvati*.

<sup>4</sup> Burgess *Amarāvati and Jaggayyapēta*, p 108.

<sup>5</sup> For the inscription and for the monuments of *Guntapalle*, see *M A R* 1888, Ap. 30, pp 11-12, 1889, Aug 2, pp 1-3, 1916 17, pp. 30-36 *A R A S I* 1905-6, p 166.

early Buddhist books—give Rāmatīrtham an early enough date as a Buddhist *tīrtha* <sup>1</sup> The last argument of nearness to the Telī holds good equally in the case of Sanghārāma Besides, the crude and primitive sculptures, the Asōkan type of the monoliths and the absence of the usual rail and the chaitya window lead us to agree with Mr Rea that the foundation of Sanghārāma is shrouded in hoary antiquity <sup>2</sup> From the nature of the structure and the remains, the stūpas of Guntapalle, Gudivāda <sup>3</sup> and Ghantasālā <sup>4</sup> may be said to be as old About the rest of the stūpas, no reliable evidence is available to trace their origin to the centuries before Christ

Amarāvati has plenty of inscriptions in the Brahmi script of the second century A D and a few in the ornate Ikshvāku script of the next century A few marbles which have survived the ruin of the Buddhist memorials of Chinna Gañjām <sup>5</sup> and Pedda Gañjām <sup>6</sup> bear inscriptions which locate their age in about the third century A D While Nāgārjunakonda <sup>7</sup> like Jaggayyapēta <sup>8</sup> has revealed Ikshvāku epigraphs 'in fine literary pālī', Gōlī on the babbling brook the Gollēru bears the stamp of its age in a few Brahmi letters similar to those of the second period of Amarāvati <sup>9</sup> Ghantasālā has recently yielded a clue as to its antiquity in the marble slabs dug out of the *Kōttaradibba* which contain mutilated inscriptions assignable to the second century A D <sup>10</sup> Similar paleographic testimony is supplied by the

<sup>1</sup> For a second century inscription on a seal and for the Buddhist remains of Rāmatīrtham, see *M A R* 1908-9, p 10, 1909-10, p 20, 1910-11, p 13, *A R A S I* 1910-11, pp 78-87 for illustrations, etc

<sup>2</sup> For the seals and coins and a pālī inscription at Sanghārāma and its Buddhist remains, see *M A R* 1908-9, pp 1-10, 1910-11, p 17 See *A R A S I* 1907-8, p 149 for illustrations

<sup>3</sup> Rea, *S I B* antiquities, *M A R* 1892, July 15, p 1 for Gudivāda

<sup>4</sup> Rea, *ante*, *M A R* 1892, July 15, p 2, 1919-20, p 30 for Ghantasālā

<sup>5</sup> See *M A R* 1888, July 14, pp 8-10 for Chinna Gañjām

<sup>6</sup> See *M A R* 1888, July 14, pp 2-11, 1889, Ap 30, pp 2-12 for Pedda Gañjām

<sup>7</sup> *M E R* 1926 and 1927, Ap for Nāgārjunakonda

<sup>8</sup> *E I*, vol x, Ap No 1202 and 1203, for Jaggayyapēta inscriptions of the third century A D

<sup>9</sup> *The marbles of Gōlī* (Bulletin of the Madras Museum) by T N Ramachandran

<sup>10</sup> Some of the fragments of the marbles of Ghantasālā, the author saw in the village and some more in the bungalow of the Zamindar of Sallapalli at Masulipatnam

antiquities of Rāmireddipalli,<sup>1</sup> Allūru<sup>2</sup> and Sanghārāma and by the Chaitya at Chējrālā<sup>3</sup> The inscription of Sri Chandra Śatavāhana at Kodavalī fixes the date of the remains in or before the second century A D<sup>4</sup> Numismatic evidence is also forthcoming from some of the Buddhist sites, which helps us in a way in estimating the age of their relics Thus, Śātavāhana coins were obtained in varying quantities from Amarāvati,<sup>5</sup> Ghantasālā,<sup>6</sup> Guḍivāda,<sup>7</sup> Rāmireddipalle,<sup>8</sup> Sanghārāma<sup>9</sup> and Rāmatīrtham<sup>10</sup> In Guḍivāda as well in Bezwaḍa, Mr Rea picked up a Roman coin<sup>11</sup> One of the six clay seals of Rāmatīrtham bears the figure of a chaitya and the inscription ‘*Śarlasangha of Śrī Śrīva Vījaya Rāja*’ (Śātavāhana)

As late as the sixth century A D and even later, the Buddhist stūpas continued to exercise their influence over the Andhras who visited the holy spots and showed their reverence to them in the shape of benefactions and votive offerings A certain Simhavarman Pallava presented an image of the Buddha to the stūpa of Amarāvati (about the sixth century A D ?)<sup>12</sup> In Jaggayyapēta<sup>13</sup> and, likewise, in Rāmireddipalle<sup>14</sup> there is a marble slab with the image of the Buddha and an inscription below it in fifth century characters In both the places are found a few inscriptions in later Chalukyan script also The stone inscriptions of the Ānanda gōtra, a dynasty of about the sixth century A D, are seen in the Chaitya of Chējrālā<sup>15</sup> Coins and seals ranging from the fourth century to the ninth century A D carry the history of Sanghārāma down to a very late period<sup>16</sup> Śālihundam bears to-day the remains of a late age,

<sup>1</sup> For Rāmireddipalli, see *M E R* 1924, p 3, 1927, Ap

<sup>2</sup> For Allūru, see *M E R* 1924, pp 3, 97, 1906-7, p 3

<sup>3</sup> *M A R* 1899, Ap 30, pp 12-18 for pālī inscriptions, etc., of Chējrālā

<sup>4</sup> From *Timavaram* in Pithapur Zamin, Sir W Elliot excavated four relic caskets See *I A* vol xii, p 34, *M A R* 1907-8, p 3

<sup>5-7</sup> Rea, *S I B* antiquities, *M A R* 1892, July 15, pp 1-2

<sup>8</sup> *M E R* 1924, p 3

<sup>9</sup> *M A R* 1908-9, p 6

<sup>10</sup> *M A R* 1910-11, p 14

<sup>11</sup> *M A R* 1888, Jan 24, p 4

<sup>12</sup> *S I I*, vol 1, p 25

<sup>13</sup> Burgess, *Amarāvati* and *Jaggayyapēta*, p 111

<sup>14</sup> *M E R* 1924, p 3

<sup>15</sup> *M E R* 1900, p 5, *S I I* vol vi, Nos 155 and 155A of 1899

<sup>16</sup> *M A R* 1908-9, p 5, *M E R* 1914, p 5

about the seventh century A D, though it is probable that the roots of its greatness as a religious centre might be hidden in earlier centuries

### *The style of the stupas*

The stūpas of Andhra were of the same style as the stūpa of Sāncnī and of varying dimensions from the small stūpa of Gōlī (8' high and 60' across) to the big stūpas of Bhattiprōlu (132' in diameter) and Amarāvati (138' in diameter and 100' in height). On a circular or square base, a dome was raised and above the dome a square block containing the box of relics, if any. The *gala* was surmounted by a capital over which one or more umbrellas were placed. All round the stūpa there was a railing, leaving some space for circumambulation and marking off the sacred spot. Except at Amarāvati there was no noteworthy railing elsewhere in Āndhra. But in most of the stupas of Southern Āndhra there were sculptured marbles all round the base. At the four cardinal points of the circular railing were gateways.

Most of the stūpas of Āndhra were solid masonry work. There are rock cut stūpas at Sanghārāma and a stone built stūpa at Guntapalle. In fact, Sanghārāma has groups of stūpas, each pinnacle being shaped into a stūpa.

The base of the stūpa of Ghantasāla was on radiating and concentric brickwalls. Similarly, the '*mahāchaitya*' of Nāgārjunakonda, a stūpa at *Franguladinne* near Pedda Gañjam, and another at Sālihundam have a base or platform of the shape of the *chakra*. At Pedda Gañjām, another Buddhist symbol, the *swastika* was adopted in the place of the *chakra*.

To erect and balance a huge dome of brickwork as that at Bhattiprōlu or Amarāvati requires no small engineering skill. To convert a hill into innumerable stūpas as at Sanghārāma is no mean architectural feat. Considerable advance had been made in bricklaying twenty-two centuries ago as the bricks of Bhattiprōlu  $1\frac{1}{2} \times 2'$  still retain their strength after having been exposed to wind and weather for such a long period.

Two kinds of chaitya slabs have been excavated at Amarāvati, one presenting in miniature the stūpa of the earliest epoch and the other the stūpa of the second century A D. The stūpas of Andhra were first bare structures surrounded by a wooden railing or fencing, stone railing being exceptional. The earliest

to have a railing of a permanent material and with some sculptures here and there on it were the stūpas of Bhattiprōlu and Amarāvati. In the former were found remains of the enclosing rail, a marble pillar and a few sculptured marbles. Round the latter there was a railing of granite perhaps with a few archaic sculptures. There has come to light another instance of stone railing at Guntapalle in a stūpa of perhaps the second century B.C. The gateways of the Āndhra stūpas were not important as those of Sāncī, either from their size or from the sculptural standpoint. The *āyaka* pillars found at the four cardinal points and close to the stūpas are a peculiar feature of the stupas of Āndhra and unknown to Sāncī. They are square at the base and octagonal above and perhaps once supported *manṭapas* or bore the emblems of the religion.

### *The Sculptures of the Stupas*

The sculptures of Andhra fall into two classes (1) archaic, affiliated in style to those of Bhilsa and Sāncī, and (2) of the second and third centuries A.D. betraying the assimilation of the 'Graeco Roman' style of Gandhara at its best.

The earlier sculptures are chiefly from Amarāvati and Jaggayyapēṭa. Little of a definite nature is known of the few marbles of Bhattiprōlu. The carving of a Raja by his horse found at Garikapaḍu<sup>1</sup> is a fine specimen of art of the early Amarāvati school. Jaggayyapēṭa stands by itself with its flat reliefs, spaciousness and large, elongated figures, and is more closely related to the early paintings of Ajanta. The mound containing the biggest of a group of stupas was 31½' in diameter, the procession path 10½' wide and the surrounding slabs 3' 9" above the floor. Inside the rail of slabs the stūpa was formed of earth and brick<sup>2</sup>. The slabs at the base have generally no sculptures while pilasters upon them are carved in the style of Piṭākhora and early Amarāvati. The figures are larger than and not in high relief as, those of later Amarāvati. Their head-

<sup>1</sup> *M A R* 1889, 30 Ap., p. 2. See *M E R* 1908, p. 59 for a Brahmi inscription there. There must be some hidden remains at Garikapaḍu.

<sup>2</sup> Burgess, *Amarāvati and Jaggayyapēṭa*, *A R A S I* 1905-6, p. 116 for illustrations of Jaggayyapēṭa remains.

Burgess, Pl. liv, fig. 2, lv, figs. 2 and 3 for typical sculptures from Jaggayyapēṭa.







b 333

DETAILS OF CARVED WOODEN BEAM (NO. 1 BEAM) NAIRUNA, NDAI CENTER DT

diess and ear-rings have more of the Ajanta type, and the figures lack the style and rapid movement of the later Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakonda sculptures. Nor is there the same profusion of figures at Jaggayyapēta. One of the marbles of Jaggayyapēta (now in the Madras Museum) is extremely interesting as an architectural model of great potentialities. A shrine or *pūnyasāla* is carved on it with four pillars supporting it in front. The ascent to the shrine is by steps. Inside under a seat are the Śrīpāda over which is an umbrella with two hanging garlands. In each side division stands a female, one of them holding a vessel of flowers. The building has a storey with an arched roof and chaitya windows. Over the roof are four ornamental finials.

The archaic sculptures of Amarāvati lack the elegance and finish of later day work but are nevertheless bold and spirited. Among them are winged lions and other animals as in the cave of Pitālkhora and on the slabs of Bhilsa<sup>1</sup>. The human and other figures are flat and possess more strength than proportion, and are on a larger scale. Their garments are as deftly delineated by the sculptor as they were woven by the skilful artisan. The turban, the heavy *kundalas*, the broad necklace, the *dhōti* round the waist with folds hanging were probably not mere conventional art but were really in vogue among the people of the times<sup>2</sup>. Figures of men or boys with short drawers driving the bulls, deer and elephants or holding them by the tail are nicely done. The abundant carvings of a later age in high relief and with sharper features will be dealt with in the next chapter. Suffice it to say here that the sculptures of later Amarāvati include not only the carvings on the rail round the stūpa but also those on the slabs fixed all round the base of the stūpa and on the slabs encasing the stūpa itself. In the sculptures of later Amarāvati, the image of the Buddha (which was unknown to Buddhist iconography before) plays a prominent part.

The school of Amarāvati art had its sway far and wide in Āndhra. Sculptures as sweet as those of later Amarāvati have been discovered in Chinna Gañjām, Pedda Gañjām and Kanupatī, in Gōlī, in Nāgārjunakonda and in Ramireddipalle. Fragments of marbles have been found in Peddamaddur, Ghantaśāla,

<sup>1</sup> Burgess, pl. xxix xxx

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. li

Arugolanu and Kondiapolu<sup>1</sup> which prove the existence of sculptures there in the past

Two marbles, one with finely carved semi-circular lotus leaf patterns and the other with a nice seven hooded naga on one side and a dāgaba, lotuses and rows of *trisūlas* and lions on the other, are reported to have been excavated from the *Kollidibba* at Chinna Gañjām. A mile north of Pedda Gañjām is *Franguladinni* 'the mound of the Franks' where a marble with the Buddha and a number of dwarfs beneath his seat and some sculptured lions were dug out. This mound together with the *Bogandāridibba* and the *Śākaladāridibba* reveal the extent of the Buddhist city of Pedda Gañjām. The marbles of Pedda Gañjām treat of the usual Buddhist themes and present to us the same motifs<sup>2</sup>. From the *Dipaladibba* of Kanupati<sup>3</sup> containing many other mounds, marble piers have been removed and built into the local temples. Of the marbles, one has a coiled nāga, a moulded capital and a *trisūla*.

Some of the marbles of Golī are still on the spot built up into a small fane which has, within, a big and beautifully sculptured seven-hooded nāga (belonging to the stūpa) in light green marble twisting itself in intricate coils. At the root of the central hood of the nāga is a platform with a small stūpa. On the stūpa the dwarfs and the *ayaka* pillars have been shown. Below the stupa is a *kalasa*. The stūpa in the hood looks exactly like a *linga*. The rest of the sculptures are now in the Madras Museum. Some of the *Jātakas* and incidents in the life of the Buddha are depicted in them. The Buddha has the usual halo and flowing robes and devotees salute him by falling flat on the ground or by raising the joined palms to their heads.

Nowhere have such extensive Buddhist remains been brought to light as at Nāgārjunakonda<sup>4</sup>. They are of more than provincial

<sup>1</sup> *M A R* 1893, July 14, p. 2. There were also some stone sculptures. It is interesting to note that marble sculptures are rarely found beyond the present W. Godavari district.

<sup>2</sup> *M A R* 1889, 30 Ap. pp. 9-12.

<sup>3</sup> *M A R* 1888, July 14, pp. 11-13.

<sup>4</sup> *M E R* 1926 and 1927, *A B I A*, Leyden 1926 and 1927, *A R A S I* 1925-6, p. 141. Mr. Longhurst has earned an immortal name by his excavations here. There are three reliefs from this place in the Musée Guimet, Paris. Dr. Dubreuil was the first to spot out the recently excavated remains in Guntur District.





B 370

B 370  
CAVED PITHA No. 2 DETAIL OF ANOTHER SOLDIER FIGURE  
NACA JUNIKONDA GUNTUR Dt

interest when we take into account either the style of the art or the nature of the Gospel preached from the heights of Parvata or the extent of its sway overland and overseas. The stūpas of Nāgājunakonda had neither the ornamental gateways of Sāncī nor the elaborately carved rail of Amarāvati. They had probably a rail of wood on short brick or stone walls. The sculptures in bold relief in light green marble, so far discovered, were found round the base of a stūpa on a hill at the eastern end of the present site of ruins. The chaitya slabs and the alternating compartments of scenes from Buddhist stories are similar to those of the so-called 'inner rail' of Amarāvati in style and finish. There was a sculptured coping all round. On the whole, some of the friezes are more beautiful, more vigorous and, obviously, more fresh than those of the latter stūpa.

Besides the usual scenes from the *Jatakas* 'the jungle book of the Indian story tellers' in panels fringed with the human pair and other familiar motifs, there are a number of scenes which cannot be identified and which portray, in all likelihood, local life, story and history. The latter are usually scenes where kings and queens were engaged in various activities. A bearded Scythian warrior in trousers and tunic with long sleeves holding a spear in hand, some nude figures, some Bacchanalian scenes with drinking horns, the dress of the Buddha and some other figures reveal the debt of the Āndhra workmen to the 'Graeco-Roman' style which must have travelled to the Krishna by land and by sea. The rest of the sculptured scenes are the usual Buddhist themes petrified. The panels usually depict the Seven Steps, Renunciation, and Preaching from the life of the Buddha. The figures of the Buddha are bald in some panels (Nāgārjuna?), while they have curly hair and possess great beauty in others. The folds of his dress are well depicted in all the compartments. The most curious panel is that containing Hanumān carrying three figures on his back. The sculptures were popular picture books giving delight and instruction without a language, *cadjan* or teacher. There are the usual dwarf, *makara* and roll ornaments. Among animals, elephants are sculptured with great skill. Attractive and spirited figures, and scenes permeated with an air of realism are a familiar feature of the marbles. They have elegance, movement and expression. Man and nature are well delineated, and grace, motion and anatomy are all there. In the technique and finish of untranslatable charm, the classical

influence is clearly traceable. The marbles were finished with a fine coating of white stucco as at Amarāvati and perhaps painted also likewise.

The big stupa on the hill of Rāmireddipalle (Gummidiḍḍuru)<sup>1</sup> has all round its base 34 reliefs in the same grey marble of Amarāvati and Jaggayyapēta sculptures. The sculptures are excellent and well preserved and are of the Amarāvati school. Some of the chaitya slabs have a seated Buddha in the centre, while, in others his symbols take his place. The Buddha has curly hair, a halo and full robes and is sometimes in the preaching pose. In one panel, the central figure has a turban and bangles like the kings of a later date. The lotus and vase ornaments are used in profusion.

### *The Relic caskets*

From most of the stūpas of Āndhra, relic-caskets have been obtained though we cannot be sure if the relics were of the Buddha or of some lesser teacher. From the inscriptions on the relic-casket of Bhattiprolu and on the *ayaḥa* pillars of the 'mahāchaitya' at Nāgārjunakonda, it is learnt that both the memorials enshrined the relics of the Buddha. *Ārya Mañjuśrī Mūla Tantra*,<sup>2</sup> a late Buddhist work, notes that the stupa of Amarāvati was erected over a relic of the Enlightened One. The great care that was taken to preserve the sacred relics is seen in the number of caskets one put in the other, beginning with a big stone box and ending with a small, beautifully manufactured casket or phial of some precious metal which actually encased the object of veneration. Beryl and crystal caskets from Bhattiprolu, and silver and gold caskets of beautiful workmanship from Nāgārjunakonda are an index to the high level of excellence the art of the goldsmith had reached. If further proof were needed, there is a gold necklace of a nice pattern found inside the stūpa of Rāmireddipalle.

'What you prize most, you offer to God' is well illustrated by the memorial offerings found together with the smallest of the caskets actually covering the relic. Pearls, precious stones, gold flowers, jewels, beads, *trisūlas* and twenty-four small coins

<sup>1</sup> Besides the references given before, see the *Times of India* (Illustrated Weekly), Bombay, March 25, 1928, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. I, p. 88,



B 384

GREAT STUPA (SHOWING BUDDHA RELICS AFTER CLEANING), NAGAJUNKONDA GUNTUR DT





(with the *trisūla* and the sacred *pāda* encircled by a *nāga* engraved on them) were found in Bhattiprolu. The most curious object found there was a book formed of a long strip of thin metal folded together with Asōkan characters pricked on it evidently with a metal point. Here is a miniature of the *cadjanas* which contained the Law and were carried by the clergy to refresh, if need be, their retentive memories. Near the southern gate of the Amarāvati stūpa, Mr Rea discovered a big *chunam* ball which contained a pot, inside which was a casket of pure gold in the form of a dāgaba (3½" high and 1½" in diameter) with an umbrella on the top.<sup>1</sup> The dāgaba contained six small gold flowers and a piece of bone. The ivory articles and the seal in *lapis lazuli* (with the lion and a Pālī inscription inside it), taken together with the above evidences speak volumes of the state of the art of the jeweller and engraver in those palmy days. While the inscriptions cut on stone in Bhattiprolu are flawless, the inscription on such a hard substance as crystal reveals marvellous skill

### *The images of the Buddha*

Images of the Buddha of stone, limestone, marble and bronze have been discovered in plenty in the districts of Gunṭūr and Krishna and in small numbers in the other districts. When Hīnayāna had given place to Mahayāna, images of the Buddha were set up at the cardinal points of the stūpa, in small chapels adjoining it and in the chaityas where hitherto the dāgaba had occupied the sanctum of the apse. Big stone images of the Buddha were found in Śālihundam, Guntapalle and Allūru,<sup>2</sup> and limestone images in Guntapalle. A stone image of the Buddha with the graceful flowing robes of the Amarāvati style graced one of the chaityas at Rāmatīrtham. Marble images in the round which are defaced and mutilated on account of neglect have been discovered in Amarāvati, Bezwāda,<sup>3</sup> Nāgārjunakonda and Pedda Gañjām. Mr Rea records the discovery at Vidhyā-dharapuram in Bezwāda two marble statues of the Buddha and two big hands of white marble of a statue of the Buddha. At the same place, Dr. Dubreuil brought to light two heads of the

<sup>1</sup> *M A R* 1909-10, p. 32

<sup>2</sup> *M A R* 1906-7, p. 3. The image is now in the museum at Bezwāda.

<sup>3</sup> Sewell Lists, vol. 1, p. 47, *M A R* 1888, Jan. 24, pp. 2, 4

Buddha and a trunk of a Buddha image dressed in toga<sup>1</sup>. The figures have Roman features and are extremely good looking. The muscles of the face are well shown and the eyes are without pupils. The images in the round at Nigāṛjunakondī are massive and they occupied the sanctums in the chaityas. Large statues of the Buddha, with curled locks and flowing robes must have stood on the *Bhogandānḍibba* (in Pedda Gūṇjām), if we may judge from the fragments left of them, and the half-a dozen images from the 'mound of the Franks'<sup>2</sup>. There were also images of brick and mortar and shaped in plaster as the one at Salihundam. Life-size images of gold are reported by Huen-tsang to have existed in Parvata, one of the Āndhra *utthas*, but for obvious reasons, none of them has seen the light of day.

At Buddhāni,<sup>3</sup> Buddhist images of copper 1' to 2' in height on pedestals were discovered. They are of the fifth century A.D. They are perfectly and delicately modelled and their robe is smooth and tight. At Amarāvati also,<sup>4</sup> some images were found, the biggest of which 1' 4½" high represents the Buddha as a *guru* addressing his disciples. They are said to belong to an earlier date than the images of Buddhāni. In this new species of art too, Āndhra was equally skilled. It would appear that these bronze Buddhas of Andhra travelled across the seas to preach in Further India.

### *Chaityas*

Every big stūpa had a chaitya and a vihāra adjoining it. The bare walls and foundations alone of some chaityas with the dagaba in the apse are seen to day at Nigāṛjunakondī. Guṇṭapalle, a veritable treasure-house of Buddhist buildings, and Sangharāma, presenting a picturesque multitude of Buddhist structures, have preserved for us some of the most ancient of the chaityas of Āndhra.

A circular rock cut Buddhist temple at Guṇṭapalle is assigned by the archæologist to the second century B.C. It has a vaulted roof domed and ribbed like an umbrella in imitation of a wooden building. The façade of the shrine is of the horse-shoe type in

<sup>1</sup> The Pallavas (Pondicherry), p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Franguladinne or 'mound of the Franks' is one mile north of Pedda Ganjam.

<sup>3</sup> 18 miles from Rēpalle, M. S. M. Ry., *J. R. A. S.* 1895, p. 617, *I. A.*, vol. 1, p. 153.

<sup>4</sup> *M. A. R.* 1907-8, p. 2.



B 168

ROCK CUT CHAITYA, FRONT VIEW, GUNIMALT, KISTNA DT



which are represented the ends of rafters and affords an illustration of the truth that the stone mason's art was developed out of the carpenter's. The chaitya contains a monolithic model of a stūpa. In comparing the chaitya to the Lomas Rishi rock cut shrine at Barabar and the Sudāma shrine, Mr Longhurst writes thus 'A section through the building shows that in outward appearance, the roof of such structural temples took the form of a hemispherical dome, apparently covered with thatch, with a horse shoe gabled porch in front of the shrine. The latter was the usual form of entrance and roof construction of all Buddhist buildings in early times, whether temples, monasteries, palaces or dwellings, and appears to be merely a development of the primitive barrel-vaulted or wagon headed hut, similar to those erected by the Todas of the Nilgiris, at the present day, a style which culminated in the handsome Buddhist chaityas at Ajanta, Elura and elsewhere.'

There is a two storeyed rock cut temple with some archaic sculptures on the eastern hill at Sanghāīāma. Above the entrance to the chaitya is a small, cross legged, contemplating Buddha, while, a life size nude Buddha stands on one side. The chamber is 30' x 30' x 8' supported by sixteen pillars 2' square with a little sculpture on each. A monolithic stūpa 4' high is in the centre with a procession path all round. In the upper storey is a smaller shrine with figures of the Buddha cut on side panels. Over the entrance again is a niche with a seated Buddha. Beyond it is a rectangular chamber with an inner shrine on the back wall of which is carved a seated Buddha with a cobra hood over it. Though some of the features of this chaitya are different from those of the usual apsidal ended one, it may be held on other grounds that it belongs to the early period of Mahāyana.

There are examples of brick chaityas at Guntapalle, Chējīāla and Śālihundam. Remains of similar chaityas with stone dagabas at the apse are to hand from Rāmatūtham and with the image in the place of the dāgaba from Vidyādharpuram<sup>1</sup> in Bezwāda. The brick chaitya at Guntapalle is assignable to the second century A D from the resemblance of the stone sculptures to those of Amarāvati. It is 53' 7" x 14' 5" inside and apsidal ended. The doorway is spanned by a semi-circular brick-arch.

<sup>1</sup> *M A R* 1888, 30 Ap, and 24 Jan, pp 2-4.

There is a niche on each side of the gate which contained an image of the Buddha made of limestone. The roof was of brick and plaster and decorated with earthenware finials.

The apsidal ended barrel-vaulted chaitya at Chējrāla<sup>1</sup> is a fine structure 22' 10" × 8' 9" × 22' inside and built of large bricks with walls 1' thick. The front is a horse shoe shaped gable in which as well as in general plan and construction it resembles the large chaitya at Guntapalle. The pīth inscriptions, the Buddhist marble columns with the lotus medallions, the style of the temple, the absence of a drainage hole in the sanctum and the adaptation of a Buddhist *Jataka* for its *sthalapurana* have made the archæologist conclude that originally the Kapotesvra temple at Chējrāla was a Buddhist chaitya. The dipping of the roof and the increased width of the entrance give the building considerable acoustic properties. And the Buddhists are said to have paid considerable attention to lighting and to acoustics in the construction of their chaityas and halls.

#### *Terra-cotta etc*

The history of *terra-cotta* figures is a fascinating theme by itself. *Terra cotta* and stucco were extensively used for decorating the chaityas. Among the interesting remains at some of the Buddhist centres are *terra-cotta* *kammals* and flowers, *terra-cotta* *kalasas* and umbrellas, *terra-cotta* toys of animal figures and images of men and animals in plaster. Other curious vestiges of the social life of the times unearthed by the archæologist are jewels, ivory articles, a spindle, seals, non instruments of various kinds, articles of bronze, vessels of wood and earthenware (the latter of several patterns) which were used largely for domestic purposes and polishing, hammer and grinding stones.<sup>2</sup>

#### *Viharas*

Not even a single specimen of the residential quarters of the monks has come down to us though it is undoubted that there were several monasteries in Āndhra in the halcyon days of

<sup>1</sup> *M A R* 1889, Ap 30, pp 12-18, 1917-18, pp 33-36. The measurements given in the book are generally taken from Government reports. There must be hidden remains of a stupa, etc, hard by.

<sup>2</sup> *M A R* 1910-11, p 15, 1908-9, p 5.

Buddhism <sup>1</sup> The Chinese pilgrims give us a description of a many-storeyed *vihāra* which may be identified with the *vihāra* that once dominated the extensive establishment of Nāgārjunakonda. Hiuen-tsang describes a great *sanghārāma* (not far from Vengila) which had high halls, storeyed-towers and beautifully ornamented balconies <sup>2</sup> In front of this convent were two stone stūpas, one several hundred feet high. The monks and nuns had an organization of their own and allotted duties to perform for the advancement of their religion and community. Each big monastery had a well equipped library for the benefit of its inmates and was a fountain of learning. The monasteries have all gone to untraceable ruin on account of age and the perishable materials used in their construction. The originals of the monasteries were the large natural caves which continued to be tenanted even after the erection of splendid *vihāras* <sup>3</sup>

It is curious indeed that no traces are found of monasteries near the best known and the most ancient of the stūpas of Bhattiprōlu and Amalāvati. But, from the inscriptions of Bhattiprōlu may be gathered that the clergy there were divided into committees and thus had a local habitation. An inscription of Simhavarman at Amarāvati makes us understand that he listened to a discourse there. And Tāranātha writes that the great monastery near Lhāsa with 7,700 monks and a university with six colleges was built after the model of a monastery at Dhanyakataka, the Monte Casino of the Deccan in the early centuries <sup>4</sup>

An inscription at Allūru records a gift of lands to a *nigaya* or school of the *Pūrvaśāstas* which resided there at the time but no trace remains to-day of a *vihāra* close by. Ruins of a large *vihāra* are found at Aṅgolanu, once a Buddhist city of vast size. Similar remains of many *vihāras* exist to day at Nāgārjunakonda where the cells of the monks can be seen. The bare pillars with hooks in them once supported *mantapas* or halls of assembly. South-east of the site of the stūpa of Jaggayyapēṭa are the lower

<sup>1</sup> According to Hiuen tsang there were forty monasteries in working order in Andhra and Dhānyakataka.

<sup>2</sup> Probably this *sanghārāma* was that of Guntapalle.

<sup>3</sup> *E g*, the caves of Aripālem near Anakapalle were inhabited by monks, *M E R* 1925-6, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *I A* vol. IV, p. 363.



parts of pillars of a *mantapa*. On the hill of Guntupalle, again, are clear remnants of an ancient and large vihāra, small rock cut vihāras and a large pillared hall. The large rock-cut cells of the monastery still remain. 'The façade of the monastery had one main entrance in the centre flanked by two little windows and two entrances into the side wings. Both doorways and windows are decorated with little horse-shoe shaped gables of the usual early Buddhist type, with simulated wooden fanlights or screens, above the semi-circular door and window frames.' Lastly, Rāmatirtham and Sanghāiāma have rows of cells with small niches in the walls for keeping lamps and in the former the rows of massive stone piers indicating the existence there of a huge hall in the past.

### *Influence of Buddhism*

All the early remains of Āndhra are Buddhist and the Buddhist remains are so plentiful that Andhradēśa must have been intensely devoted to the religion once and for long. Most of the Buddhist foundations continued to flourish for a time after the third century A.D. The Brahminical revival in the Deccan had begun as early as the time of Fahian. But, as late as the time of Huen tsang, there were 10 monasteries with 500 monks in Kalinga (South Gañjam and Vizagapatnam districts), 20 monasteries with 3,000 monks in Āndhra<sup>1</sup> and 20 monasteries with 1,000 monks in Dhanyakataka. In the last kingdom were also a large number of deserted monasteries. In the Ceded districts, the Buddhist monasteries were in ruins and the Brahminical and Jaina religions were popular.<sup>2</sup> Thus, the sway of Buddhism over the Āndhras between about 300 B.C. and 300 A.D. and its continued influence for another four hundred years meant that the warp and woof of Āndhra culture was largely Buddhist.

Āndhra architecture, sculpture and painting began and developed under Buddhist auspices. Writing,<sup>3</sup> literature, education (every monastery was a school) and learning had a similar origin and history. The Telugu language has had a stimulus in the course of its evolution from various other languages that

<sup>1</sup> Andhra was half of Kalinga in size according to Huen tsang.

<sup>2</sup> Watters Vol II, pp 198, 209, 214, 224.

<sup>3</sup> The early inscriptions of Bhattiprolu (third century B.C.) prove the high level of culture then.

came into contact with it like Pāli, Sanskrit, Kannada, Mahā-rāshtri, Tamil and perhaps even Greek. Of these, the earliest to mould the language into proper form was the Buddhist Pāli. The Buddhist assemblies (*sanghas*) regulated by discipline and decorum, their notions of equality, racial, social and sexual, their stern morals, their intellectual pursuits, their clean, simple and communal life, and, above all, their spirit of missionary enterprise which made them enter into the hearts of the people and cultivate the popular tongue and which led them on as preachers of the gospel far beyond the seas transcending all racial and geographical boundaries—these form the very bone and marrow of Āndhra civilization. Lasting impressions were left by the mendicants on the princes and the people and a salutary atmosphere of *Dharma* was created. Fahian says of North Indian monasteries (which was true of the South Indian also) that chambers, beds, coverlets, food, drink and clothes were provided for the inmates without stint or reserve which is eloquent of the spirit of charity then prevalent. Unmoved by honour or reproach, revered by the people and respected by kings for their character and learning, these seekers after Truth were visited in their seclusion and self-imposed poverty and honoured with grants and offerings wherever they went. The extensive humanity of the age is contained in the phrase 'for the welfare of all living things' used to denote the purpose of a grant in Nāgārjunakonda.

Things which had stirred our ancestors' minds and imagination to their depths, words which had swayed generations, temples and Gods which had sat close to their hearts and homes for centuries, is it possible they have lost their vitality for ever because the temples are in ruins, the images mutilated and the sacred writings effaced? On the other hand, is it not likely that the broad idealism of to-day, that cosmopolitanism and freedom characterising Andhra Society and art and the peculiar make and themes of Āndhra art and literature bear the marks of their Buddhist origin? The rock of which Andhra culture was hewn, the pit out of which Āndhra culture was dug was Buddhist.

### *Decline of Buddhism*

The causes for the disappearance of Buddhism from Āndhra need not be specially sought, for, it was a feature throughout India. Buddhism was absorbed by Brahminism on the popular as

well as the intellectual side. There was little difference between Mahāyāna worship and the worship of the revived Brahminism. Both were the resultant of the movement of *Bhakti* which was a reaction against Vēdic exclusiveness, Jaina asceticism and Buddhist moralism. Asvaghosha's *Buddha Charita* sounded the note of the new movement in religion. Salvation except with the yellow robes was denied by Hinayāna. Mahayāna was more liberal and altruistic. Mahayāna was more picturesque and popular.

The introduction of Gods and Goddesses and *Bodhisattvas* or saints similar to the Hindu deities and the development of *Vajrayāna tantrism* attended by mystic rites accelerated the decline already started by the laxity in discipline and morals and the lack of fervour in the monks and nuns. *Madhyamika Sunya vāda* which stressed on the non-existence and illusion of everything led to the *Yōgachāra* which affirms the reality of inward thoughts. Mystic *tantras* arise mostly out of *Yōgachāra* and they degenerate into *śakti* rites. It is therefore significant that, at any rate, in Āndhra every Buddhist mound is popularly known as *Laṅgādibba* and *Bhogandanādibba* (the mound of the prostitute) <sup>1</sup>

In this connection, mention must be made of the traces of the *śakti* cult found at Salihundam. The life-size figure of Marīci in stone in the *alidha* (angry) pose is fine with her upper part nude (except for ornaments) and the lower clad in thin cloth with a girdle round the loins. She has three faces and six arms and her head-dress has a halo behind. She carries the bow and arrow. At her feet are two *Dhyāni* Buddhas. She is the *śakti* of Amitābha and the Goddess of Dawn. There is another nicely carved Marīci with the same features. There is a four armed stone image of Tāra in *padmāsana* pose. She is the *śakti* of Avalokiteśvara and still one of the most popular deities. There is another two-armed Tāra with two female worshippers.

These images represent the growth of 'a mystical sex symbolism' like the *tantric śakti* worship. To each *Bodhisattva* was assigned a female counterpart and male and female deities came to usurp 'the religion of no deities'. Chicacole, Śrīkākulam,<sup>2</sup> was

<sup>1</sup> Some derive the Telugu *Sāni* (dancing girl) from *Swāminī* (nun). The other phrase *Rākshasa gudilū* is rare but easily understood as a name given by the Brahminical opponents.

<sup>2</sup> There is another Śrīkākulam at the mouth of the Krishna which was an early capital according to tradition.

perhaps the Srikankālī of the Buddhist *śaktas* Dhānyakataka too became *Vajrayānist* and perhaps thus acquired the name Dharanikota, the place of *Dhāranis*. From an examination of certain sculptures, statues and paintings in Mukhalīngam,<sup>1</sup> it may be inferred that a debased kind of Buddhist *śaktism* of the Vajrayāna with its blood-thirsty deities and immoral worship must have prevailed there. Thus, degeneracy set in fast and reduced the number and popularity of the Buddhists. From the spacious times of the stūpa of Bhattiprōlu to the lesser days of the remains of Sālihundam, Buddhism had passed through various stages. And, though all the people were never Buddhists as Buddhism allowed no laity, the influence of the monks and nuns was potent to do good or evil. Latterly, their influence was evil rather than good.

The stūpas which were attended, revered and patronized by the people were exchanged for Śiva and Viṣṇu. But for popular and royal regard for the religion, thousands of monks and nuns could not have flourished. Besides the loss of patronage—we do not meet with Buddhist giants after the third century, A.D. generally—there must have been persecution and destruction of Buddhist buildings and libraries to some extent. Otherwise, we cannot explain the entire absence of Buddhist literature in Āndhra.<sup>2</sup>

The religion that started with condemnation of rituals ended by becoming as ritualistic as Brahminism. The ignorer of God began to worship many Gods and their female counterparts. The creed of pure morality came to be lodged in brothels mis-called monasteries. Any association of men and women in mystic rituals which countenance drink takes but little time to develop into a den of immorality. The canker, once it gets in eludes nipping and spreads slyly along over the whole organism. The disciples of Him who preached in the open air and taught in the groves were entombed in monasteries (which became the distinguishing feature of Buddhism) with their knowledge encased in shelves of palm-leaves. Ideas ceased to grow, scholastic learning alone won laurels and there was no longer

<sup>1</sup> *M E R* 1919, p. 8

<sup>2</sup> But there is no certain evidence of persecution except in later traditions. For some traditions, see Venkataramanayya N. *Trilochana Pallava, etc.*, p. 37. Also *Krishna District Manual*, p. 268.

the spirit of change and progress to counteract the growing decay. In a word, there were more scholars than prophets or perfected men. The old faith had degenerated and had to be rejuvenated. Nāgārjuna, like another Buddha, rose to the greatest heights of intellectual and philosophic eminence. But, the decay that had set in continued. The people bound for millenniums to their spirits and superstitions were not moved further into new spheres of life and thought, and concessions were made to their weakness and partiality for a God, a personal Being who lives and loves, the rock and refuge of the people. The Buddha became another God to them. But, Nāgārjuna was not to blame. No good thing can continue for ever, it degenerates and the cycle begins again. Pure morality is no religion for the masses when it is inadequate even for the elect. The code of discipline—abstinence and morals—though not so austere as that for the Brahmin or Jaina *Sannyāsi* was far too stringent for the bulk of the large number of monks. Hsuen-tsang notes quarrels among the monks of Dhanyakataka as the cause of their ruin and the king, taking advantage of it, closed some monasteries. Similarly, growth of indiscipline must have brought down many other establishments. Higher notions of self-knowledge and self-improvement without external aid do not make a lasting appeal to the people who linger still in a labyrinth of deities and superstitions. Equality of the sexes and their free mixing in the vihāras were great ideals but were disastrous in result on account of the ultimate domination of the sex instinct.

Buddhism went the way it began. It was a reform upon Brahminism and was absorbed by it when it reformed itself and opened its wide portals of *Bhakti* to all. Its principles and doctrines lie embedded in the *Upanishads* and in the systems of Hindu philosophy. *Karma* is the Hindus' doctrine, so are *ahimsa* and *sanyāsa*. Neither Gautama nor Aśoka preached hatred of the *varnas* or of the Brahmins. In fact, Aśoka went the other way and exhorted reverence to be shown to the Brahmins and to the social order. We are not sure if the followers of the Buddha who were not monks discarded the village deities and *vedic* ceremonies altogether, but he condemned them, purified religion, introduced abstinence and gave a conscious ideal. Only the Vēdas and sacrifices the Buddha disliked. The Buddhist path was paved with noble truths and not strewn with the bleeding remains of victims. Ethics was the foundation of

the religion and its best justification. The Brahmins were hit hard by the new religion which became popular among the *non Dwijas* who were taught in their own language the doctrines of mercy, right conduct and pure life. The Brahminical religion of sacrifices and *sanyāsa* was open only to a few and their sacred language too was only for the elect, but in the post Buddhist age, the *Bhakti* cult was cosmopolitan and found expression in popular tongues.

### *Usurpation of Buddhist Centres*

The Jains and the Brahmins converted the Buddhists' buildings sometimes into temples for their gods and profited by their example in raising new structures. This fact coupled with the paucity of early Brahminical and Jaina remains in Āndhra shows that in point of popularity Brahminism and Jainism were negligent factors as compared with Buddhism in the earliest epoch of Āndhra history. Jainism was very popular in Karnāta and Dravida but never so in Āndhra. The successive usurpation of Buddhist Rāmāstīrtham by the Jains and the Hindus, the existence of a famous Hindu shrine at Buddhist Sīmhāchalam, the conversion of Sanghārama and Guntapalle into *Linga Kṣhētras*, the presence of shrines dedicated to Amarēsvara, Kapotēsvara and Śīl Sālēsvara in three famous Buddhist centres and the excavation of *lingas* and *pārvattams* in Buddhist Peddakanchērla<sup>1</sup> and Jain Dhānavulapadu<sup>2</sup> respectively—these speak for themselves of the origin of the Hindu revival on the decline of Buddhism. That there were Brahminical temples in Āndhra from the third century A.D.<sup>3</sup> can be proved from inscriptions,

<sup>1</sup> Vinukonda taluk, Guntūr district, *M A R* 1894, July 10, p. 1. I am told that there are stupalike things in the *Lakṣmī peetam* found in many Telugu households and they are called *Buddu* (Buddhalu?). The idol at Sīmhāchalam has a *linga* shape and no proper explanation is given for it.

<sup>2</sup> Jammalamadugu taluk, Cuddapah district, *M A R* 1903-4, p. 27. As for Jaina remains in Andhradeśa see Dr. B. Seshagiri Rao's *S. I. Jainism* (Vizianagaram). Also the *District Gazetteers*. A number of Jaina images are reported to exist in a number of places in Godavari District and Jaina remains in the Ceded Districts. Drākṣhāīāma is believed by some to have been once a Buddhist *ārāma*. There are a few Jaina traces in the temple. The structure is a noteworthy one in the country which possesses only a few beautiful Hindu temples. There is the influence of the Chalukyan style. The place is in Ramachandrapuram taluk, East Godavari District.

<sup>3</sup> The earliest known temple is that of Viṣṇu at Dālūra (third century A.D.). The name 'Śīva' and the word 'Vigraha' occur in the earliest inscriptions at Bhattiprōlu.

and the scores of *Deva* temples noted by Hiuen T'sang as having existed in his time could not have sprung in a day. But, of their style, little is known and the presumption is that it was not different from the style of the earliest Hindu temples extant in and round Bezwāda which was a copy of the Buddhist style exhibited in the rock-cut and structural buildings of Guṇṭapalle.

### *Survival of Buddhist Art*

There was no chasm between 'Buddhist', and later 'Hindu' Art as the workmen and their books and models were the same. Save for the differences in the themes and some motifs, and variations following the development of art and the nature of the religion, no marked changes are noticeable at the start, one naturally evolving into the other. The easy occupation of Buddhist chaityas and caves by the Hindus explains the absence of any disparity between the two styles. All the earlier art was absorbed by the Buddhists and all the later art evolved from theirs.

In and round Bezwāda may be seen to-day a large number of rock-cut cave temples at Mogulrajapuram, Sitanagaram and Uṇḍavalli. They are all mostly simple in plan and construction. They represent a continuation of the Buddhist art of scooping out cells adapted for the Hindu gods. While the circles of the dead developed into the stupas on the plan of the circular hut, the square stūpas of the Āryans served as the ground plan for the cells of the typical Hindu temple. A number of small shrines exist by the side of the three-storeyed rock-cut temple of Uṇḍavalli, square uni-cellular sanctums which were the nuclei of later big temples. The big temple of Uṇḍavalli itself is of the style of a Buddhist vihāra. The difference in the ground plan between the Buddhist and later Hindu temples notwithstanding, the dark sanctum (with the idol instead of the relic) and the semi-circular dome or the *vimāna* (hollow unlike the solid stupa) in the latter betray their Buddhist origin and conception.

It is well known that the rock-cut cave temples in and round Bezwāda<sup>1</sup> are the earliest surviving Hindu shrines of Āndhra,

<sup>1</sup> For Bezwāda, see *M A R* 1910-11, p. 20, 1919-20, p. 26, 1888, 30, Ap. 2

For Mogulrajapuram, *M A R* 1888, 30 Ap., 1919-20, pp. 27-9

For Uṇḍavalli, *M A R* 1888, July 14, p. 3, *A R A S I.*, 1919-20

For Sitānagaram, *M A R* 1888, July 14, pp. 4-5

nothing being known of structural Hindu edifices till a very late date. These have been rightly attributed to the Pallavas and the Viṣṇukundins, the former carrying the style into the Tamil country. The *Dvārapālas* and the pillars with lotus, vase and lion ornaments remind us of the Buddhist sculptures of Amarāvati.

One stage removed from these early Hindu temples is the group of beautiful rock-cut temples at Udayagiri in Nellore District<sup>1</sup> belonging to the sixth and seventh centuries. More developed than the group of Udayagiri is that of Mahābalipuram both belonging to what is called the Pallava style<sup>2</sup>. It is a commonplace that the Seven Pagodas of Mahābalipuram represent the various styles of temple-building known at the time. A clear analysis of the styles of the Pagodas will set at rest any doubts concerning their Buddhist parentage. The Dharṃarāja Ratha is a storeyed vihāra, the Draupadī Ratha is a *mantapa* with a roof slightly different from that familiar in Amarāvati sculpture, the Nakula Sahādēva Ratha has the exterior of a chaitya hall on a small scale, and the Bhīma Ratha is like the chaitya of Chējrāla. Only the Ganēsa Ratha having a *gōpura* with a barrel-vaulted roof at the apex presents some difficulty. The *gōpura* is the dominating feature of the Dravidian temple by day and by night, as the stūpa overshadows every other building in a Buddhist *tīrtha*, but it does not stand over the sanctum in later Hindu architecture but is in the compound wall of the temple. The symmetrical arrangement of miniature *vimānas* and *gōpuras* and groups of figures on the *gōpura* is similar to a like arrangement of miniature stūpas and groups of sculptures in famous stūpas. But, as already pointed out, the plan of the later Hindu temple was square or rectangular as different from the circular or apsidal plan of the Buddhist. While the stūpa of Amarāvati was a huge semi-circular structure, the *gōpura* of a South Indian temple is a huge pyramidal structure based on the style of the storeyed vihāra. In the Ganēsa Ratha, the *gōpura* looks like a series of laboriously mounted oblong platforms in diminishing size crowned by the barrel-vaulted roof, the dome-shaped stūpa being lost sight of and only the platform on which it stood being

<sup>1</sup> *M A R* 1920-1, p. 29

<sup>2</sup> The Pallava is the only early Āndhra dynasty whose association with Āndhra can be traced continuously for not less than five centuries.



developed. The modern *gōpura* is but a development of the principle of building in the chaitya at Chēṭṭāla with the gate on the long side and without an apse. It may also be remembered that there were vihāras of a pyramidal shape with as many as five storeys as the one noted by Fahian in Dakṣiṇa. In details like the procession path, chaitya windows, finials, pillars with capitals before the main shrine, groups of smaller tanks, sculptural motifs, votive offerings, inscribing the gifts, festivals, etc. the later Hindu temple follows the Buddhist style. Elements of Buddhist iconography have entered into the Hindu, not to speak of the softening influences of Buddhism over the other religions.<sup>1</sup>

*Some more remains*

The ruins of some of the ancient cities have not yet been systematically explored and surveyed. There are relics of an ancient city at Chandraguptapaṭṇam<sup>2</sup> near Srī Sālam and at Dantavaktrākōṭa in Chīcacole taluk. Dharamikōṭa near Amrāvati has extensive mounds. As at Dantavaktrākōṭa and Dharamikōṭa, ancient coins are picked up from time to time at Kalīṅgapaṭṇam also<sup>3</sup> which contains mounds worthy of excavation. Above all, there are the extensive remains of Dendaluru and Pedda Vēḡi and Chīṇṇa Vēḡi<sup>4</sup> which belong mostly to the epochs of the Sāṅkhyānas and the Viśṇukūṇḍins. It is curious that nowhere (including the vast acres of relics in Vēḡi) have ancient civil buildings been preserved. There are traditions of palatial civil buildings and here and there vestiges of them occur as at Nāgārjunakōṇḍa, but they are insufficient to give us even an inkling into their size or style.

<sup>1</sup> Śiva as a *guru*, the *linga* under the *nāga* and Viśṇu *sayana* etc., to some extent, counterparts of the preaching Buddha, the Buddha under the hoods of Elapatra and the *mahāpārṇirvāṇa*.

<sup>2</sup> *M A R* 1917-18, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> *J B O. R S*, 1930.

<sup>4</sup> *M A R* 1888, 30 Ap., pp. 9, 13-14, 1902, p. 19. Six miles from Ellore, M. S. M. Ry. Dendalūru is about 12 miles from Ellore.

## CHAPTER III

### THE MARBLES OF AMARĀVATĪ

OF the Buddhist centres of Āndhra, Amarāvati is the most widely known. It is about 18 miles from Guntūri and about the same distance from Bezvāda. Built on the right bank of the broad and navigable Krishna (connecting by water year in and year out all the religious centres on both banks of the river) Amarāvati held a position of supreme strategic importance also. Without the disadvantages and dangers of a situation on the coast of Coromandel, it had the benefit of communication with the sea.<sup>1</sup> It stood as the gateway of commerce along the Krishna which served to fertilize its fields, to disseminate its culture and to distribute its goods.

A mile to the west of Amarāvati are the ruins of Dharanikōta, an important political centre of the Sātavāhanas where numerous Āndhra coins have been picked up. The location of a Pallava viceroyalty at Dhānyakataka in the third century A.D.<sup>2</sup> and the mention of Dhānyakataka as a separate kingdom by Hsuen-Tsang all point to its great political importance.

Amarāvati recalls to our mind the selfless labours of Colonel Mackenzie but for whose discovery all the marbles would have been burnt into lime and but for whose spirited and withal exact drawings the picture of the stūpa will be incomplete. Elliot, Sewell,<sup>3</sup> Burgess<sup>4</sup> and Rea<sup>5</sup> have successively worked at the spot and on this noble theme. Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship* is a monumental work though marred by a few erroneous opinions expressed in it and it treats of the Amarāvati marbles in the British Museum and the drawings of Mackenzie. The

<sup>1</sup> Amarāvati is 62 miles from the mouth of the Krishna.

<sup>2</sup> *E I* vi, p. 84.

<sup>3</sup> Report on the excavation of the Amarāvati stūpa in 1877.

<sup>4</sup> The Buddhist stūpas of Amarāvati and Jaggaṃyapēta.

<sup>5</sup> South Indian Buddhist antiquities, *M A R* 1888, Sept. 11, 1889, Ap. 30, G O 383, p. 2, 1905-6, p. 2, 1906-7, p. 2, 1907-8, p. 2, 1909-10, p. 32. For illustrations of Amarāvati, besides the above, see *A R A S I*, 1905-6, p. 50, 1908-9, p. 88.

*magnum opus* of Burgess, his book on Amuvāṭi is still the picture Bible on that chapter of Āndhra history <sup>1</sup>

The stūpa, with its roots far down into the age of the Mauryas, stood firm and entire and received benefactions as late as the twelfth century <sup>2</sup> Huen-Tsang, the devoted pilgrim that he was, goes into raptures over the magnificent but largely deserted convents, galleries and pavilions of Dhanyakataka <sup>3</sup> The inscription of Pulumāyi Vāsistiputra carries the age of the 'Mahāchāriya' of the *Chāriyakas* to the second century A.D., while the inscriptions in the Mauryan script <sup>4</sup> would put back its age by another four hundred years While Dhanyakataka figures in an inscription of the Ānandagōti line of kings who seem to have taken Āndhra after a fight with the lord of the *Benna* (Krishna), it is doubtful if the Amarapura of the Vishnu kunḍin inscription refers to this ancient city of Āndhra The inscriptions in Ikshvāku script and the earliest references to the Vākātakas at Amarāvati are full of significance though it is not known if the Vākātakas were indigenous to Āndhra <sup>5</sup>

The exact date of the foundation of the stupa is as obscure as that of many another stūpa in Āndhra The original mound was of the same type as the stūpas of Sāñchi and Bhāṭṭipolu and of the same century The capital discovery of large quantities of marble in Āndhra is a landmark in the history of Andhra art <sup>6</sup> Broadly speaking, the sculptures fall into two classes, one akin to the art of Bhilsa and Sāñchi and the other displaying the assimilation of the Gandhāran style which elevated at a stroke the tone of Āndhra art and made it a joy for ever Additions were made and renovations effected till the third century A.D. since we have some inscriptions in the ornate Ikshvāku script

<sup>1</sup> The Amarāvati marbles are now shared among the museums of London, Calcutta and Madras There are a few in the National College, Masulipatnam (are they from Ghantaśāla?) and in the Bezawāda museum For the history of the excavations, see Sewell Lists I, p. 63

<sup>2</sup> *E I* iii, 91, vi 155 x 44 Also 269 and 270 of 1897, M.E.R.

<sup>3</sup> Watters ii, 214, Beal ii, p. 221

<sup>4</sup> *E I* xv, p. 258 Pulumāyi has made a grant at Nāsik to the monks of Dhānyakataka, *E I* viii, p. 67

<sup>5</sup> For Amarāvati inscriptions, see *E I* xv, p. 258

<sup>6</sup> Light cream colored marble is still dug out in Mallavaram and other places in Palnād Finely colored Cuddappah building stone is obtained in Nandigāma taluk and limestone is found in plenty in Sattenappalle taluk.

which have required as much skill as the most pleasing of designs there. But, the bulk of the embellishments were made in the second century after Christ in the script of which period many of the epigraphs are engraved.

All that wealth could bestow, all that power could command, all that art could embellish, Dhānyakataka was beautified with, as the foremost city of the 'Lord of Dakshināpatha'. If religion could be expressed in stone, the picture gallery of Amarāvati would answer. That religion can permeate and ennoble the meanest cobbler, the inscriptions of Amarāvati would testify.<sup>1</sup> The imperceptible shading of one art into another and the melting of all in a universal harmony may be experienced by a concentration on the best relics of Amarāvati and Nāgājunakonda. Here is a monument decorated not merely by royal patronage and the munificent purses of the nobles but by the people at large, the merchants, the goldsmiths, the poor mendicant ascetics, the humble and devoted pupils whose love is chiselled there forever. It speaks volumes of the pious zeal and refined tastes of the commonalty and the acme of perfection reached by the decorative arts. The whole world of floral designs and the varied, animated and crowded scenes of men and animals convey the minute care, the *Himalayan* patience and the manual skill of the Āndhra artists of 2,000 years ago whose lavishness of detail is equalled only by the exuberance of their fancy. These masterminds have so effaced themselves in their work and are so lacking in the later day egotism that we do not know the name of even one of them.

By putting together the fragmentary evidences supplied by the excavations and the miniature stūpas on the slabs at Amarāvati, the '*mahāchartya*' which had gone to ruin long before Colonel Mackenzie, has been reconstructed by historic imagination aided by the science of archæology. On what is now a mere site with not a trace of the central stūpa and railing<sup>2</sup> reared its head a mighty monument 138' in diameter and about 100' in height. With the sculptured marbles painted in colors, covering and surrounding the stūpa, this finest memorial to Buddhism in the world must have presented a pleasing appearance for miles around and exercised a sobering influence on the

<sup>1</sup> *E I* x, Ap No 1273

<sup>2</sup> There are now the remains of a small stūpa with marble slabs at the southern entrance of the big stūpa.

minds of men By day and by night, the majesty of the religion of self control was brought home to the citizens It was the *Dīpālādīnne* (mound of lights) in fact as well as in figure of speech The busy capital near at hand with its palaces, bazars and all the ancient splendor of India stood in striking contrast to the calm dignity and the soothing repose of this enchanting mausoleum, the very seventh heaven of symbolical expression Hard by this monument of the '*Bhagavat*' must have stood many a smaller tomb to the hierarchy of lesser teachers and monasteries and *mantapas*, traces of which are not, however, extant For, no big stūpa worth the name stood without a chaitya and vihara

A devotee who desired to pay his respects to the great stūpa at Amarāvati in the second century A D entered by one of the four gates near which were some small chapels and dāgabas The gates were at the four cardinal points of the circular enclosure known as the Outer Rail Apparently, the gates were unimportant and not of the Sāñchi type

#### *The Outer Rail*

The Outer Rail was formed of upright slabs about 10' high above the level of the paved procession path These uprights were connected by three cross-bars which were fitted into the mortices in them Above and supported by the uprights was a coping frieze, 2' 9" in height On the external face of this compound rail were found sculptures of a uniform and general type On the pillars were sculptured a disc in the centre with half discs above and below<sup>1</sup> The discs were characterized by beautiful leaves and creepers in concentric bands At the two ends of the pillars, above and below the half disc were bands depicting animals and flowers Between the discs were sculptures of the dāgaba, the Buddha, the *nāga*, the tree, etc attended by devotees in the upper space and by dancing dwarfs in the lower The cross-bars<sup>2</sup> connecting any two pillars were full of discs with leaf-patterns The coping of the rail had a long wavy roll of flowers carried by human figures here and there and bearing one or other of the Buddhist symbols<sup>3</sup> Though the outer sculptures of the Outer Rail are conventional,

<sup>1</sup> Burgess, pl vii, fig 2

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, pl xvii, fig 2, xviii, fig 1

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, pl xx, fig 1

the marvellous and rhythmical varieties of floral patterns and designs, the sinuous scrolls and the humorous dwarfs reveal no small skill. The work in stone was evidently copied from earlier work in wood and metals—softer materials than stone—admitting any amount of dexterous work by the carpenter and goldsmith.

On the inner side of the Outer Rail, *ze*, to the left of the circumambulating devotee were sculptures not only pleasing to the eye, but instructive to the mind. The uprights bore on the inner side again a disc in the centre and semi-discs above and below, the latter decorated in the same manner with the frieze of animals and flowers at the ends. The central disc and the bands above and below it were sculptured with scenes from the *Jātakas*, episodes from the life of Gautama the Buddha, and varied pictures of domestic and religious life with vivid local coloring now and then <sup>1</sup>. Writes Dr Burgess, 'it is only in the paintings of Ajanta and Bāgh that we find anything comparable to the rich variety and excellence of art displayed in these sculptures' <sup>2</sup>. The whole popular lore of the Buddhists was depicted on them, an art copied on a grand scale in Borobudur in Java at a later time. While the contrast in this respect between Sāñchi and Amarāvati is striking as the sculptures in the former were on the gateways alone, the evolution of the art into greater skill and freshness and more profusion, luxuriance, elegance and animation (permeated by the new spirit more akin to Mathura and Gandhara than to Sāñchi), cannot also fail to attract our notice. The subject matter is the same, conventions about figuring particular scenes in a particular manner, *eg*, as to dress, ornaments, etc., had grown in Buddhist art, but still the realism, individuality, expression and freedom of figures and objects at Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakonda are of arresting interest. In a sense, the art had developed a delicate nicety from the pristine vigor of Sāñchi but it has all the charm of a mellow evening. 'Continuous representation, linear treatment and the relative independence of the single figures' are its chief characteristics. The cross-bars which connect the pillars were filled on the inner side also with discs in concentric rings of leaf design. The central disc alone is a panel of figure sculptures of various types and combinations <sup>3</sup>. The inner side of the

<sup>1</sup> Burgess, pl. vii, fig. 1,    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 26    <sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, 1

above the Outer Rail is also filled with figure sculptures of various scenes from life <sup>1</sup> Thus, the inner face of the Outer Rail is a contrast to the outer as the former alone meets the eye of the devotees

### *The Inner Rail*

To the right of the devotee was what used to be called the 'Inner Rail' composed of slabs carved with miniature chaityas alternating with pillars bearing the *chakra*. It was close to the stūpa and the slabs were fixed in it. The richest and the most elaborate carving exemplifying the zenith of Āndhra genius in stone could be seen in the 'Inner Rail' so appropriately assigned to a later date than the Outer Rail and plausibly connected with the art of Nagārjunakonda and the great Saint. The circumference of this railing 6' high has been computed to have been about 521' <sup>2</sup>

Enclosed by the chaitya slabs was the stūpa about 435' in circumference at the base. It was covered with sculptures upto the capital in tiers. The tree and the umbrella at the summit crowned the whole edifice which was periodically lighted and festooned.

The chaitya slabs of the 'Inner Rail' were of a uniform type <sup>3</sup>. The chaitya on the slab 5' 8" high and 5' 10" broad stood between two *chakra* pillars with a frieze of sculpture above. It has an outer rail with cross bars between the pillars with a plinth carved with the wavy roll. The gate is shown with pillars decorated with lions at the base and capital, and on two other sides a view of the gates is given. By the gate are seen devotees with offerings. At each side of the gate stands a dwarf with a tray on his head to receive the offerings of the faithful, and by his side is a flower vase. The stūpa itself is divided into various panels. In the centre is the throne with one or other of the Buddhist symbols<sup>4</sup> attended by devotees with or without *nāga*

<sup>1</sup> Burgess, pl xx, fig 2

<sup>2</sup> The measurements of the various parts of the stūpa are taken from the book of Burgess

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, pl xxxix, figs 1, 2

<sup>4</sup> The relic casket, the horse (Kānthaka), the lotus vase, the empty throne, the footprints, the Bodhi tree, the *trīśūla*, the flaming pillar, the dāgaba, the *chakra*, the *nāga*, etc. The flaming *trīśūla* is 'the counterpart of Agnilinga' (Fergusson). The author has seen people in South Kanara with peculiar caps suggestive of the *nāga* men and women in Amarāvati sculptures

hoods In some of the slabs is the polycephalous snake In some others is the Buddha himself amidst his audience or under the hoods of Elapatra with a halo round his head or with the horse by his side or with the elephant kneeling to him He sits cross-legged and is always found preaching to a crowd of listeners His hair is worked up in the Indian fashion and not gathered in a knot as in Gandhara His eyes are open and his face is smiling His hand is in the *dharmachakra* or *abayamudra* pose The drapery has well marked folds and is held by the left hand The dress covers both shoulders in some figures while generally the right is bare On a stray chaitya slab may be seen two medallions of sacred sculptures in the place of the Buddha

The base of the stūpa on the slab can be seen adorned with slabs carved with Buddhist symbols and having a coping Above the front slab rise the *śyaka* pillars, octagonal shafts with square carved capitals decorated with the wheel and the dāgaba In the middle of the dome is a broad belt of very rich sculpture from the Buddhist stories Still higher up are square and round medallions of sculptures At the top of the dome is the square box and the latter is crowned by umbrellas Towards this, the *dēvas*, *yakshas* and *nāgas* are flying

### *The Chakra Pillar*

The chakra pillars<sup>1</sup> have at the base a throne with cushions and *śrīpāda* attended by two persons with fly whisks and worshipped by another two The shaft is beautifully divided into sections ornamented with busts of men and animals Above are three lions over which is the rayed wheel On each side of the shaft are five figures riding on different animals Above the top most of the group is a female dancing excitedly and above her a *yaksha* Towards the wheels, heavenly beings are seen flying

Over the whole, i.e., the *chakra* pillars and the chaitya slab between them, runs the frieze<sup>2</sup> ornament with animals below and a broad band above with the Buddhist symbols attended by devotees and with scenes from the life of the Buddha Between these are inscriptions in second century characters

Besides the above-described type were chaitya slabs with little sculpture The former was the miniature of the

<sup>1</sup> Burgess, pl xlv, fig 1

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, pl xlii, fig 4 and pl xlviii, fig 4



'*mahāchaitya*' of Amarāvati, as it was in the second century A D While, the latter was representative of the monument as it was before that period <sup>1</sup>

### *Images of the Buddha*

The images of the Buddha discovered at Amarāvati belong to Mahāyāna which countenanced the worship of the Buddha and the *Bodhisattvas* who gave *nirvāna* to the faithful The images must have been added to the stūpa and placed in the chapels at the gateways and in the chaityas They are of varied types and in the Gandhāran style They had generally the *ushnisha*, a definite cranial protuberance, and ample robes, and the head was covered by small, short curls

The biggest image is 5'5" high but its hands and feet are broken off It is of the conventional type with the ample robe thrown over the left shoulder and arm and descending upto the ankles and displays greater skill than its kind in Ajanta Even the big and flabby images of Amarāvati<sup>2</sup> and Nāgājunakonda are stern and dignified to look at There are smaller images as badly defaced and of the same type The left hand is on the lap and the corner of the robe, on the wrist The halo over the head and the covering of both the shoulders are evidently copied from Gandhāra There are also images of the Buddha in stucco and bronze which exhibit considerable skill in art, the bronzes<sup>3</sup> being of the standing and preaching type

There are other statues in the round which might be figures of kings One of these exhibits great care and accurate skill. A necklace with seven strings with a square clasp round it, the belt holding the cloth in position and even the very threads of the cloth are represented in detail

### *Animals and Men in the Sculptures*

The animals at Amarāvati are characterized by the same naturalness as at Sāñchi and possess more of freshness The lions sculptured on the pillars in the chaitya slabs (which are miniature Asokan *lats*), the elephants, tigers, horses and birds

<sup>1</sup> Some specimens of the second type have the many headed cobra twisting round the stūpa signifying the great devotion of the nāgas to the Buddha

<sup>2</sup> *ARASI*, 1905-6, pl 11 Burgess, pl 11

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, 1908-9, pl xxxiii.

are well done. Human figures of various cuts and proportions, foreign and native, are drawn with determination, curiosity, attention or pathos as the case may be, from the squat and pot bellied servants to the beautiful kings and queens. In one panel, the muscles of the strong man are well indicated,<sup>1</sup> while, in another<sup>2</sup> the beauty of woman is shown with considerable skill. At one place, a fighting scene is drawn very spiritedly with weapons raised,<sup>3</sup> and troops on foot, horse and elephant advancing. A pathetic scene is vividly represented at another place.<sup>4</sup> The scenes of ecstatic dance<sup>5</sup> and musical treat<sup>6</sup> are full of life and realism in which may be found a rich variety of musical instruments. All the strains of music that delighted their ears, all the poetry that bubbled out of their lips and instruments, the very rhythm of the dance itself—are conveyed to us without an explaining label or inscription. In accurate floral decoration of a hundred varieties, vase ornaments and the rich animal sculptured panels, the artist has shown wonderful imagination and sense of symmetry. The best representation of man (a feature of Greek art) is combined here with the best representation of animals, leaves and flowers. There is movement in the animal, human and other studies, and figures are not of a dull, flat or uniform type, but have individuality, variety and realism.

### *Social Life*

The social life depicted in these sculptures is not exclusively Āndhra and they present us with varieties of dress, jewels and furniture. Roughly it may be said that the wearing of an upper garment was exceptional for men as well as women. Slim women sparsely dressed or clad in thin muslins reveal their coy and furtive graces, and guls, romping and merry, move about singing and dancing with their characteristic nonchalance. Ample and full robes, robes twisted round the waist with loose hanging folds, robes covering only a few inches above and below the waist, blouses, tunics and drawers which required tailoring (which was perhaps new and foreign), turbans of various elevations according to rank—a few studded with medallions—all these are represented

<sup>1</sup> Burgess, pl xi, fig 4

<sup>2</sup> Fergusson, pl lxi, fig 1, Burgess, p 38

<sup>3</sup> Burgess, pl xvii, fig 1, pl xxv, fig 2

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, pl xii, fig 1

<sup>5</sup> Burgess, pl vi, fig 2

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, p 35, fig 7

here<sup>1</sup> Heavy ear-rings, bracelets and necklaces are worn by both sexes, while no woman is without the tinkling bangles and anklets so profusely worn even to-day by Āndhra ladies. There does not seem to be any evidence of nose-rings or of bodices. The kings wore turbans with jewels and medallions, and plenty of ornaments and were attended with the *chatra* and the *chāmara*. Brahmins generally wore their cloth in the present day *kacham* fashion and covered the upper part of the body. The hair was worn in a variety of ways but the prevalent fashion seems to be not to shave the head. There are instances of women working up their hair in plaits and into knots bedecked with bands and jewels.

Men and women mixed freely and equality between the sexes was the rule. Women are seated before men and wives before their husbands in the domestic scenes. The husband with his two wives seated on either thigh is a happy exemplar of domestic harmony,<sup>2</sup> and scenes of music or learned discourse or dance in which women occupy the same place as men are highly characteristic of the religion which allowed women freedom to become nuns, to make gifts and to seek *nirvāna*. However, the Buddha permitted only floral paintings in the monasteries and temples and not figures of men and women. He was at first distrustful of the principle of sex equality. But, Buddhism had to adapt itself to the currents of feeling then in existence among the masses. Equality between the sexes, the freedom of the fair sex, a deep appreciation of sexual beauty and an unconventional social life conveyed to us by the art of Ajanta and Amarāvati seem thus to be removed from the austere ideals of the Buddha and the Aryan missionaries. In fact, a deep study of the fair sex is a marked feature of the artist of Amarāvati which would do credit to Vātsyāyana himself.

The chairs, stools, footstools, cots<sup>3</sup>, thrones with cushions, plates, goblets and flasks and the *kāvadi* to carry loads reveal to us in full the domestic life of the age. The peacock and the dog

<sup>1</sup> Burgess, pl. xxxii, fig. 1. Vessantara Jātaka, the princess, is seen wearing a petticoat, bare above the waist and carrying a *kāvadi* like a cooly.

<sup>2</sup> Burgess, pl. xxxii, fig. 1. Between the discs is the Vessantara Jātaka in which the King is seated with two wives.

<sup>3</sup> Cots are mentioned in the Mayūravōlu plates (third century A.D.) Bullock carts with solid wheels (as in our temple car) figure in ancient sculptures and may be seen even today in remote villages.

fed from a dish were some of the pets of the household. Among the means of transport familiar to the Amarāvati sculptor may be mentioned, besides the chariots, the horses and elephants used by the few, the boat and the country bullock-cart.

### *Influences of Amarāvati Sculptures*

Even if the above pictures did not portray local life exclusively, what impressions they produced on the Āndhra people and what influences they exercised on the life of the age is more than what we can determine at present. It is well-known that Buddhism carried with it, wherever it went, a civilizing, softening, ennobling and educative influence and left lasting impressions in literature and philosophy, in marvellous artistic and engineering feats, in stupendous stūpas and vihāras, in big tanks and well-arranged parks and squares. Its religion was pure morality and its God, man perfected (the Buddha). Not he, as he was but man, but his symbol was to be worshipped. How far such a transcendental system was followed by the people steeped in superstitions and fears is a question difficult to answer. To the people who believed in all, Buddhism gave a new hope and vision. To the philosophers who disbelieved in all, it gave a new system of thought and inquiry. To the Kings who patronized all, it furnished peace-loving and moral subjects. That Buddhism had the wholesome effect of freeing individuality from bonds which weighed down its enterprise is a point beyond dispute. The wide travels of the Buddha depicted in stone had a liberalizing tendency, the north and the south came under the same cultural spell, life became full and culture spread to foreign lands. It is impossible to believe that the beautiful expression of the Amarāvati marbles did not stimulate men into poetry or stir them into dramatic action. Apart from the peculiar pleasure and pride we feel in possessing these works of art and calling them our own, there is also their inherent value according to any scheme of cultural values. In the words of Mr Sewell, these gems of ancient Indian art are priceless for the wealth of the information they contain on all that makes the past history of a nation valuable or interesting to the student, the antiquary or the statesman.

### *Architectural Styles*

Architecture as an art was as much indebted to the Buddhists as sculpture. The sculptures of Amarāvati are the models of a

large variety of the then existing architectural styles which the later Āndhra art developed. There are the circular and rectangular huts suggestive of the countryside and religious buildings on those models<sup>1</sup>. There are small chapels with domical, curvilinear and rectilinear roofs<sup>2</sup>. The origin of these types is no doubt to be found in the elastic bamboos bent in towards the centre. Later lithic work copied the original work in wood. There are civil buildings in the Amarāvati sculptures with railed verandahs, arched gateways and arch decorations in the main part<sup>3</sup>. They are storeyed, balconeyed and finished at the top with terraces. Pillars<sup>4</sup> like the Asokan *lāts*, pillars with arched tops, octagonal based, circular banded and square capital led pillars are seen in plenty. In one-storeyed building there are five *stupā* like ornaments or finials in a row on the roof and from the two chaitya arched windows peep out human heads<sup>5</sup>. In another is the barrel-vaulted roof as that found in the ox-cart or the palanquin<sup>6</sup> depicted in some scenes. Beautiful *mantapas* are found in some other panels. Altars with the *pada*<sup>7</sup> which have been found at Amarāvati, and altars with other symbols like the flaming *trīśūla* (so peculiar to Āndhra) were originally temples for worship and they served as models for later religious architecture. At Kārlē so deservedly famous for its fine pre-Gandhāran sculptures and at Guntapalle, a veritable storehouse of Āndhra buildings, is seen at its best the arched chaitya gateway, while at Chējrala is found the developed barrel-vaulted roof.

### *Foreign Influences on Indian Art*

Indian art is, according to some, a grand mosaic in which Persian, Greek and other elements shed their lustre. The so-called bell-shaped capital, the honey-suckle ornament (which is but an Indian motif in fact) and even the use of stone for

<sup>1</sup> Burgess, pl. xii, fig. 3, xxi, fig. 2, xxv, fig. 2, xxvi, fig. 2, xxvii, fig. 1, xlix, fig. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, pl. xlv, fig. 3, xli, fig. 2, xxxviii, fig. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, pl. xviii, fig. 2, xlii, fig. 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, page 93, fig. 28, pl. v, fig. 2, pl. xxi, fig. 2, pl. xxv, fig. 2, pl. xxvi, fig. 1. For small *lāts* of the Asokan type, see the chaitya slabs. The buildings were mostly of wood or brick.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, pl. xviii, fig. 2, pl. xi, fig. 2 for a smaller building.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, pl. xi, fig. 1, pl. xxvi, fig. 2, pl. xxvii, figs. 1 and 6.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, page 31, illus., pl. xvii, fig. 4.

building are traced to Persia, while, the winged animals, mythical plants and monsters (abounding in Indian fables) came from Assyria. The image of the Buddha with the folds of clothing and a face like Apollo's and a halo like Athene's was first cut in the workshop in Gandhāra under Graeco Roman influences. In the classical style, the delineation of the muscles of the body and the modelling of the body are particularly noteworthy. The acanthus ornaments of Amarāvati are Greek according to some but it is so only in name as they possess the same vitality and beauty of form as the Indian lotus.

But, the conception of Indian art as a seed sprouting into rich foliage and flowers stimulated in growth by foreign influences now and then will be more real and historical. Long before Asoka, there were *śāstas* ornamented with the lotus, miscalled the bell. To acquire the mature skill in stone displayed in the Sanchi gateways and the earliest of the Amarāvati sculptures must have taken centuries. However, in dress, in a few motifs and scenes and in a certain polish of style, the classical influence is perceivable and it must have travelled to Āndhra by land as well as by sea.<sup>1</sup> The dominant impulse was undoubtedly Indian.

### *Some Opinions*

'The Amarāvati sculptures,' says Dr Marshall, 'indeed appear to be as truly Indian in style as those of Bharhut and Ellora. They follow as a natural sequence on Mauryan art, when that art was finding expression in more conventionalized forms. They have inherited certain motifs and types which filtered in from the north-west, but these elements have been completely absorbed and assimilated without materially influencing the indigenous character of these sculptures.'

The sculptures of Amarāvati are as remarkable a product of Āndhra genius as some of the paintings of Ajanta whose originality no one has doubted. As Havell<sup>2</sup> has pointed out, 'the bas reliefs of Amarāvati (forming the decoration of the railing and of the marble casing of the stūpa itself) should properly be studied in connection with the fresco paintings of Ajanta. They

<sup>1</sup> According to V. A. Smith (see his History of Fine Art), the art of Amarāvati was indebted to the art of Alexandria of the age of the Antonines, p. 150.

<sup>2</sup> A handbook of Indian Art, p. 38.

must have resembled the latter very closely when the color and gilding with which they were finished were intact, the technical treatment also is usually much more pictorial than plastic. The most ancient paintings in Ajanta which has 'art with life in it' and 'scenes taken from Nature's book' in Caves IX and X are closely related to the Sāñchi sculptures and may be ascribed to the period and patronage of the Āndhra kings.<sup>1</sup> The treatment of Amarāvati is original and local according to Feiguss<sup>2</sup> who would however trace its origin to the Hellenic style. By concluding that 'the best reliefs of Amarāvati are also the best Indian sculptures', Grunwedel<sup>3</sup> emphasizes the decided predominance of the Indian element.

In comparing the Gandharan art with that of Amarāvati, Rothenstein<sup>4</sup> wonders 'how one can prefer the somewhat clumsy and provincial Gandhāran carvings to the dignified, supple and exquisitely carved figures and the lotus and animal designs which ornamented the temples at Mathura, Sarnāth or Amarāvati'. Codrington<sup>5</sup> believes that 'however foreign the art of Gandhāra may be, its inspiration is admittedly Indian. Its iconography also is Indian in origin and derived from Indian sources. It must, however, be acknowledged that the classical element in Gandhāran art, hybrid as it is, and decadent from the beginning can never have been the dominant factor.'

As regards the Graeco-Roman origin of the Buddha image, Dr. A. Coomaraswamy concludes thus: 'The only possible conclusion is that the Buddha figure must have been produced simultaneously, probably in the middle of or near the beginning of the first century A.D. in Gandhāra and in Mathura in response to a demand created by the internal development of Buddhism which was common ground in both areas, in each case by local craftsmen, working in the local tradition'.<sup>6</sup> In fact, long before the first Buddha image was made in the Gandhāran workshop, Indian masons had made images with the *usnisa*, curly hair and long ear-lobes as at Bodhi Gaya. The *lakṣaṇas* of a *Mahāpuruṣa*

<sup>1</sup> A R A S I 1903-4, p. 130

<sup>2</sup> Tree and Serpent Worship, p. 157

<sup>3</sup> Buddhist Art in India, p. 157

<sup>4</sup> Codrington, Ancient India. Introductory, p. 4

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51

<sup>6</sup> History of Indian and Indonesian Art, p. 60

were well known long before the first century A.D. The pose of the Gandhāran Buddha as a *guru* or *yogi* is entirely Indian. The history of image making can be traced back to the age of Mōhenjo-Dāro and *terracotta* figures have an unbroken record from the earliest times.<sup>1</sup>

### *Hsuen-Tsang's Dhānyakataka*

A controversy has raged over the location of Hsuen-Tsang's capital of Dhānyakataka where he lived for some time, learnt *Abhidharma* from Subhūti and Sūrya and taught Mahāyāna.<sup>2</sup> Fergusson, Sewell, Burgess, Watters and V. A. Smith,<sup>3</sup> identify the capital with Bezwāda. Says Watters 'it is hard to understand how anyone could propose to identify a large monastery among hills and streams and having spacious chambers and great corridors with a building which is merely a remarkable *tope* situated on a plain'. But, it must be confessed that Hsuen-Tsang's account is too meagre for any positive identification. He locates a monastery of the *Pūrasaulas* east of the capital and another of the *Avarasaulas* west of it on a hill. A former king erected them, made a path by the river (connecting them) and built halls with broad corridors of rock. They had all the artistic elegance of a great mansion and all the beauty of natural scenery. They were resorted to by saints and by 1,000 brethren every year for the rainy season. For a hundred years, in the time of the pilgrim, they had been *deserted* and desolate. In a hill cave south of the capital lived Bhāvavivēka.

From the above account, it does not follow that the two monasteries were very near the capital. There are no extensive Buddhist remains at Bezwāda to justify our identification of the capital with it. A local Pallava inscription at Amarāvati calls the place Dhānyaghata. There are evidences in the extensive mounds of Dharanikōṭa and in Buddhist books of the existence at one time of big institutions there. If we are to judge from the extent of the establishment which accommodated hundreds of monks every year, Vijayapurī (Nāgārjunakonda) would be more suitable than Vijayavāda (Bezwāda). Let us, however, await

<sup>1</sup> For some prototypes of the Buddha image, see *Cambridge History of India*, vol. 1, plate XIX.

<sup>2</sup> Watters II, pp. 217-18. Beal *Life*, p. 137.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Appendix.



further excavations at Nagārjunakonda which promises to be a wonder house of art-treasures of unequalled beauty and of inscriptions of inestimable value. Neither Amarāvati nor Bezvāda could have been deserted and desolate in the seventh century, while Nāgārjunakonda, an ancient capital of the kingdom of Dhānyakataka (which was so called after the town of the same name), was perhaps desolate at the period. Mr. Rea and Dr. Cunningham were against the identification of Hiuen Tsang's capital of Dhānyakataka with Bezvāda. The former argued that the establishment of Amarāvati might have extended as far as the hills of Peddamaddur<sup>1</sup> four miles to the south-east where remains of a stūpa and viḥāras and of a few marbles are found. That Amarāvati was known as Dhānyakataka and lent the name to the kingdom itself (Dhānyakataka) is certain. But it does not necessarily follow that Dhānyakataka-Amarāvati was the capital of the kingdom in the time of Hiuen-Tsang.

The age of Amarāvati was the age of fine marble sculptures in Āndhra. There were a very large number of skilled marble masons and sculptors in the country who attained a certain individuality in the art and thus came to form the 'Amarāvati school of art'.

<sup>1</sup> *MAR* 1889, Ap 30 p 2 G O No 383 Public

## CHAPTER IV

### NĀGĀRJUNA BODHISATTVA, THE KING OF MONKS

IF individuality is the keynote of the art-gallery of Ajanta, the chaitya of Kāle and the 'house beautiful' of Amarāvati, it reached its perfection in Nāgārjuna Bodhisattva, patriarch and philosopher. If the Āndhra imperial hegemony was lost in obscurity, the Andhras made ample amends by conquering the heart of Aryavarta through their brightest gem, more lustrous than their *Kohinoor* and *Golconda*,<sup>1</sup> the sage of Parvata, a versatile genius and a wonder of the world. Legends have grown so thickly over this illustrious personality that it is difficult to get a true picture of him and his activities. But he stands clearly associated with the new phase of the Buddhist religion, the Mahayāna, as its systematizer, expounder and propagator, if not its originator. The author of *Mādhyamika* and *Sānyavāda*, Nāgārjuna was 'one of the four suns that illuminated the Buddhist world'.<sup>2</sup>

Nāgārjuna was a South Indian Brahmin who turned Buddhist like many other Buddhist savants. The exact country of his birth is unknown, though it is said to be Vidarbha (Berar) in one account.<sup>3</sup> According to Huen Tsang, the prince of Chinese pilgrims, Nāgārjuna first lived in a monastery near the capital of Dakshina Kosala which seems to have once extended its sway as far as the Krishna. Next, the sage lived in *Po lo mo lo kul* which has been correctly interpreted as Parvata, the name that is applied to Nāgārjunakonda by an inscription discovered there recently. Parvata was above 300 li from the capital of Dakshina Kosala according to the same authority of the seventh century.

<sup>1</sup> Krishna District Manual for the tradition about the two diamonds, p. 247.

<sup>2</sup> Watters I, p. 245.

<sup>3</sup> For legends and traditions of Nāgārjuna, see Walleiser. The life of Nāgārjuna from Tibetan and Chinese sources (Reprinted from Asia Major), JASB, vol. 11, pt. 1, p. 115.

A D<sup>1</sup> So, Nāgārjuna, a subject of the Sātavāhana king, as we shall see presently, lived mostly in Āndhra and was a naturalized, if not a born, Āndhra

Legends would make us believe that Nāgārjuna was ordained in boyhood to avert a death at seven which had been foretold. But, we have reasons to think that he mastered Brahminical learning which he had at his command before he donned the yellow robe. He is said to have attained *siddhi* by the favour of Tāra at Kāñchi according to one version and by the grace of Chandika at Nālanda according to another. Be that as it may, he soon earned a high reputation for scholarship and could compose poetry as well as he could discourse on philosophy.

His journey to the *nāga* world led to his discovery there of the complete *Prajñāpāramitā* which was lost on the continent. The *nāgaloka* at the bottom of the sea might be Ceylon which afforded ample field to later scholars like Buddhaghosa and Buddhadatta. Nāgārjuna learnt the *Varipulya* and other *sūtras* there and brought also a casket of relics over which he erected a stūpa. The stūpa referred to may be identified with the 'mahāchaitya' at Nāgārjunakonda to which the Ikshvāku royal house devoted so much attention. On his return from the voyage which brought him great fame, he converted his king and 10,000 Brahmins. For one hundred years after his death, temples were erected to his memory and he was worshipped in them.

### *His Omniscience*

There is no branch of knowledge with which Nāgārjuna is not associated. He claimed omniscience, and an interesting story is told by Hsuen Tsang relating to his knowledge of everything in connection with the introduction of Āryadēva to the aged philosopher<sup>2</sup>. With his remarkable scholarship, transcendental wisdom and all-embracing *karuṇa*, he was a true Bodhisattva. As a *siddha puruṣa*, he could make himself invisible. As a constant friend of Nature, he knew the course and influence of the stars and the virtues and ways of every plant and herb. In fact, in the latter field of medicine, Nāgārjuna is a name to conjure with. No medical treatise would fail to invoke his

<sup>1</sup> Watters II, p 201

<sup>2</sup> Watters II, p 200.

blessings<sup>1</sup> He himself revised *Suśruta* and is said to have written *Kaśha puta tantra* and *Ārōgjanamanjari* His eye prescription was well known in China, his cure for poisons is deservedly praised by Bāna, and his recipes for several diseases were inscribed on public pillars, as a great Emperor had similarly made known the Law of the Buddha 400 years before him Above all, he discovered the elixir of life, the lodestar of many ancient researchers and their grave Knowing the secret of life, Nāgārjuna prolonged his life indefinitely as well as his king's The story goes that he gave up his life with which was bound his king's at the earnest entreaty of the surviving heir to the throne<sup>2</sup>

The *Rasaratnākara* of Nāgārjuna has a reference to his abode in Parvata and deals, among other things, with his experiments in the killing of mercury, diamond, etc., which entitle him to rank as the father of Indian Chemistry The epoch seems to have been one of unusual and restless inquiry as Nāgārjuna himself speaks of another scientist Sākanda whose experiments were famous<sup>3</sup> Nāgārjuna was the inventor of the processes of distillation and calcination and an authority on minerals He was the first to describe the process of roasting iron and to prepare black sulphide of mercury So, his monastery on Parvata as a college of science must have witnessed many an experiment in Botany, Metallurgy and Chemistry and the able professor must have gathered round him a number of students to assist him in the discovery of truth No ancient seer in the world has been free from the lure of alchemy, the almost killing quest for the philosopher's stone which would relieve the poor and shower manna to the many Our illustrious sage was no exception to the rule And the wonderful part of the story as told by Hsuen-Tsang is that he succeeded in his efforts and converted rocks

<sup>1</sup> P C Ray History of Indian Chemistry, vol 1, p xcii (Williams and Norgate) Also Journal and Text of the Buddhist Text Society of India, vol 111, p 15 (1897)

<sup>2</sup> According to Tāranātha, the Tibetan historian (about 1603 A D), the royal contemporary of Nāgārjuna lived 150 years and perhaps the sage lived double the proverbial span of life as he has passed down to posterity as one of our long lived sages See I A iv, p 363 Also Takakusu Itsing's records of the Buddhist religion, p 35

<sup>3</sup> P C Ray, vol 11, p 6 and *Sanskrit Texts* at the end of his book, p 12

into gold to provide his king with the large funds required for building the splendid vihāra on Parvata

### *His Works*

Nāgārjuna was essentially a philosopher. But philosophy then was synonymous with knowledge and every Buddhist or non-Buddhist monk was something of a naturalist and doctor. Nāgārjuna's cure for spiritual ills was original. It was *Śūnya*!

Only twenty-four out of his many works have come down to us, thanks to the Chinese but for whom our Buddhist literature would have utterly perished.<sup>1</sup> *Prajñāpāramitā sāstra*,<sup>2</sup> *Prajñā mūla sāstra tika*,<sup>3</sup> *Prajñāpradīpa-sāstra kārika*,<sup>4</sup> *Mūla-madhyamika sāstra*, *Sūnyasaptādhi*, *Madhyāntanugama sāstra*,<sup>5</sup> *Dasabhūmi vibhāsa sāstra*,<sup>6</sup> *Dvādasa Nīkāya sāstra*,<sup>7</sup> *Vivāda samāna sāstra*,<sup>8</sup> *Pramāna vihātana*, *Upāya Kausalya hṛdaya sāstra*, *Vigraha Vyāvartini Kārika*—are some of his books which represent his capacities as a philosopher, logician and debater. His prodigious and encyclopædic scholarship is impressed on every work of his.

‘The world has a conditional existence, neither absolutely real nor absolutely unreal. As a fact, no object has a nature or self-existence. Thus, the world is an aggregate of relations in virtue of which it revolves like a water wheel.’ Again, ‘origination and cessation, coming and going, etc. the fundamental conceptions of relation are really unreal and give rise to our prejudices. There nestles in them the principle of unrest and misery, and as people cling to them their life is an everlasting prey to the pendulous feeling of exultation and mortification.’ ‘Where there is conditionality, there is no truth. So, to attain truth, conditionality must be completely cast aside. Then, you reach truth or void.’ ‘*Śūnyatā* is *nirvāṇa* an unconditional condition in which all contradictions

<sup>1</sup> I. A. xvi, p. 169. Only 20 according to Watters II, p. 204.

<sup>2</sup> Nanjio's catalogue of Chinese Tripitaka No. 1169, an encyclopaedia of Mahayāna.

<sup>3</sup> Giles History of Chinese Literature, p. 119.

<sup>4</sup> Nanjio No. 1185. <sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, No. 1246. <sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, 1180. <sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, No. 1186.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, No. 1251. Taranātha mentions two more works *yukti sāsika* and *vaṇḍulya*. See Watters, II see also S. C. Vidyabhusan History of Indian Logic (Calcutta University).

are reconciled' <sup>1</sup> Some of these precious pearls of thought were taken up by another gigantic though not versatile intellect, Śrī Sankara

In theory a nihilist and atheist, in practice he is said to have introduced worship and devotion <sup>2</sup> If his theory of illusion led logically to the *māya* of Sankara, his practice of Mahāyāna led on to the Hindu *Bhakti* cult 'The figure of Nāgārjuna, so prominent in the history of the rise of Mahāyānism, shows a double character It is, on the one side, the name of an influential person, the first eminent leader of a school imbued with Hinduism and the methods of Indian scholastic philosophy On the other hand, Nāgārjuna is simply a comprehensive name of the activity of Mahāyānism in the first phase of its onward course' <sup>3</sup>

One more work of Nāgārjuna may be mentioned here, his *Suhṛullēkha* <sup>4</sup> (all his works he wrote in Sanskrit) to his king which was committed to memory by the young and old in India in the time of Itsing (seventh century A D) The letter is of interest for the advice 'to practise the threefold wisdom that we may clearly understand the noble eightfold path and the four truths to realize the twofold attainment of perfection Like Avalokitēśvara, we should not make any distinction between friends and enemies We shall then live hereafter in the *Sukkhavati* for ever, through the power of the Buddha Amitābha whereby one can also exercise the superior power of salvation over the world' <sup>5</sup>

### *The Hill of Nāgārjuna*

From the description of Nāgārjuna's life and works, let us turn to the question if this king of monks lived in Nāgārjuna-konda and lent his name to the sacred hill <sup>6</sup> It may be noted

<sup>1</sup> Ś C Vidyabushan *ante*

<sup>2</sup> The great Nāgārjuna is to be distinguished from his lesser namesakes the *Vajrayānist* and the alchemist, the latter mentioned by Alberuni That the great sage himself was a *tantrist* is not to be doubted See Alberuni *India* (trans.), p 189

<sup>3</sup> Kern *Manual of Buddhism*, p 123

<sup>4</sup> Nanjio Nos 1440, 1441, I A xvi, p 169, *J P T S* 1833 and 1886

<sup>5</sup> Takakusu *Itsing*, pp 158-62

<sup>6</sup> There is a local tradition that Nāgārjuna was a king but it appears to be as baseless as a similar reference to him in the *Rājataranginī* Trans by Stein II, p 19

that the site of the recent excavations is called Vijayapura in Parvata in an inscription found there. This Buddhist Parvata is but fifty miles, as the crow flies, from the Hindu Parvata or Sri Sailam and there is a tradition that the former is one of the gates of Sri Sailam. Both the Hindu and Buddhist Parvatas must have been sacred from ancient times. There are no extant Buddhist traces in Sri Parvata of the Hindus in Kurnool district though a town of no small importance must have stood near it. So, the Parvata with which Nāgārjuna is associated in Chinese and Tibetan literatures must be the Buddhist Parvata or Nāgārjunakonda and not its namesake of Kurnool district.

Fahian, the first well known pilgrim who came to India from China has left us only a few lines about Dakṣiṇa. He speaks of a *Po lo yu*, i.e., Paravata or Parvata, a monastery on an isolated rock, of a pyramidal shape, with five storeys each ornamented with the figures of an animal and with 1,500 cells in all. It was well supplied with water by a wonderful arrangement and windows were cut in the rock to let in air and light. It was a *sanghārāma* of the former Buddha Kāśyapa. It must be said at once that no remains have yet been found on the rock of Nāgārjuna which stands apart and prominently. But, it may be surmised that Parvata was corrupted into *paravata* which means a pigeon.<sup>1</sup> The situation of Fahian's *Po lo yu* fits in with that of Nāgārjunakonda.

Hsüen-Tsang's *Po lo mo lo kil*, meaning black peak or black bee, is the same as Fahian's *Po lo yu*. Both descriptions agree more or less, but the account of the later pilgrim is more reliable as he visited Dhānyakataka to which kingdom belonged Nāgārjunakonda. 'The solitary peak of the mountain towers above the rest. The King Sadvaha, for the sake of Nāgārjuna, tunnelled the rock and built a *sanghārāma*. In the midst of long galleries with eaves for walking under and high towers, the storeyed building reaches to the height of five stages, each stage with four halls with viharas enclosed. In each vihara was a statue of Buddha cast in gold, of the size of life, wrought with consummate art and singularly adorned.' The arrangements for water and light are similar to those described by Fahian. 'In the topmost hall, Nāgārjuna deposited the scriptures of Sakyamuni

<sup>1</sup> Giles. The travels of Fahsien, pp. 62-3

Beal. Bud. records of the W. World (Trubner), vol. 1,

Buddha and the writings of the *Pusas*. In the lowest hall were the laymen attached to the monastery and the stores and the three intermediate halls were the lodgings of the brethren. *Po lo mo lo kılı* is Parvata if it is taken as equivalent to black peak or black bee. For, Parvata is but an offshoot of the Nallamalais (lit. black mountain in Telugu) and Parvata might have been mistranslated as the hill of Pārvatī whose other name is Bhramarī.<sup>1</sup>

### *The Date of Nāgārjuna*

Various arguments may be put forward to fix the age of Nāgārjuna in the second century A.D. Perhaps he lived on for a decade or two in the third century also. Chinese and Tibetan accounts<sup>2</sup> differ as to the date of Nāgārjuna, but there seems to be a general agreement as to his contemporaneity with Kanishka. In the list of patriarchs,<sup>3</sup> Nāgārjuna is the next but one after Asvaghosha who was for some time at the court of the great Kushān monarch, and Vasubandhu the contemporary of Samudragupta and his son was sixth from Nāgārjuna. In fact, Kanishka, Asvaghosha and other contemporary names figure in the works of Nāgārjuna.<sup>4</sup> According to the *Mahāvamsa* of Ceylon, Āryadēva the disciple of Nāgārjuna was a contemporary of Vohala Tissa and Abhaya, kings of the island in the third century A.D.<sup>5</sup> There is an inscription in the stūpa of Jaggayyapēta in fifth century characters of Reverend Nāgārjuna's disciple's disciple.<sup>6</sup> The inscriptions of Nāgārjunakonda contain the names of some eminent *Bhikshus* like Bhadanta Ānanda, Dharma Nandī, Chandramukha and Nāga. Nāgārjuna seems to have had two well-known disciples other than Āryadēva, named Nanda and Nāga<sup>7</sup> and it is not improbable that they took an active part in beautifying the spot made holy by their *guru* and induced the royal family to render all the necessary help. It is very strange that in all

<sup>1</sup> The name of the Goddess of Śrī Sailam to day. See Waters II, p. 201 for an account of *Po lo mo lo kılı*.

<sup>2</sup> Itsing, p. 181, *I A* xvi, p. 353, *Rājataranginī* I, st. 173 and 177.

<sup>3</sup> *I A* ix, pp. 148, 315.

<sup>4</sup> S. C. Vidyabhusana *ante*.

<sup>5</sup> Geiger, ch. 36.

<sup>6</sup> Burgess, p. 111. Jayaprabha, the disciple of Nāgārjuna, is mentioned here.

<sup>7</sup> Itsing *I A* xvi, p. 170, Walleser, p. 21.



the inscriptions hitherto discovered, there is no mention of Nāgārjuna who was also known as Nāgahvaya (called Nāga) <sup>1</sup> There is no likelihood of the occurrence of the great *munī*'s name as merely Nāga without distinguishing and distinguished epithets

The inscriptions of Nāgārjunakonda are in the beautiful flowery Ikshvāku script of the third century A D and the sculptures of the same style as the casing slabs of Amaravati belong to the same epoch more or less In fact, Tāranātha mentions that Nāgārjuna erected 'the inner rail' at Amaravati which enshrined some relics of the Buddha <sup>2</sup> Since the chaitya slabs of Amaravati and those of Nāgārjunakonda are almost of the same style, it may be conjectured that the latter were carved early in the third century A D after the decease of the saint According to one account, his *Pratyā Mūla Sāstra* was translated into Chinese by Hsu Kan between 196 and 221 A D <sup>3</sup> We know for certain, however, that his life and some works were rendered into Chinese by Kumaraśīva about 401 A D

### *The Contemporary Kings*

There are conflicting traditions recorded by Tāranātha and others regarding the royal contemporary or contemporaries of Nāgārjuna Neither Upendra (Vishnu) the Nagaraaja, who helped the sage in his search for the lost book on transcendental wisdom, nor Munja of Orissa, who took orders and erected some viharas at the instance of Nāgārjuna, can be considered historical <sup>4</sup> The other alleged contemporaries are Bhōja of Vidharba who also embraced Buddhism, Nimai Chandia of Aparanta removed by three generations before Chandragupta I (Gupta) and Śankara of South India who was vanquished together with thousands of Brahmins <sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Manjusri Mūla Kālpā, III, pp 616-7

<sup>2</sup> According to Manjusri Mūla Tantra I, p 88 and some Buddhist stories

<sup>3</sup> Giles History of Chinese Literature, pp 119-20

<sup>4</sup> In regard to the latter, a reference to the kingdom as that of Ikshvāku in traditions may afford a clue to the contemporaneity of an Ikshvāku

<sup>5</sup> While Bhōja was a general name for the Kings of Berar, Śankara is said to be mistranslation of the original Tibetan name for Śatavāhana (P C Ray II, p xxv) In Sandanes of Broach mentioned by the *Periplus* may be traced a member of the Chandra family J R A S 1918, p 110

Sālvahana or Sālīvāhana was the family name of the kings of Andhra between about 225 B C and 225 A D after which date the Sātavāhanas disappeared from the canvas of history. There is some one Sātavāhana who cannot now be properly identified round whom a good crop of legends and literary traditions have grown up and they have not left out Nāgārjuna unenmeshed. Besides, in *Rasaratnākara*, Nāgārjuna and Sālīvāhana, and Ratnaghoshā and Māndavya are brought together.<sup>1</sup> Hiuen-Tsang mentions Sātavāhana as the king and patron of Nāgārjuna and his dominion must have comprised Dakṣiṇa Kosala proper and Āndhra proper as monasteries were built by him for the sage in both. Itsing calls the King Sāntaka of the Satavahana family.<sup>2</sup> Nāgārjuna's *Suśrīlīkha* mentions a name Jantaka or Jetaka or Sindhuka King of Shingtu (India) and styled Sātavāhana.<sup>3</sup> These names do not carry us any further than that a certain Sātavāhana (Sindhuka occurs in the list of Āndhra Kings in the *Vayu Purāṇa*) was the contemporary of Nāgārjuna. The Sātavāhana, according to all testimony, was powerful and ruled over the Central Provinces and Āndhra. There was no such powerful Sātavāhana after the second century A D.

The Ikshvākus very probably expanded south on the decline of the Satavahanas and were till then subordinate to them. The surname of the Ikshvākus and the name Chāntamūla bear a resemblance to those of the Sātavāhanas also called Sānta or Sāntivahanas or merely Sata. Still, there is not even a scrap of sound evidence to equate the sage of Parvata and Mahārāja Vasīṣṭhiputia Chāntamūla the first Ikshvaku and patron and performer of Brahminical rites.<sup>4</sup>

### *The Age of the Saint*

The age of Nāgārjuna was an age of general and all-round culture, a period of expression with the tongue and the style, the chisel and the brush. Nāgārjunakonda stands to-day as the best monument of that epoch. Parvata, from the heights of which flowed Mahāyāna and Madhyamika, has brought Āndhra a reputation which will endure as long as a single stone is left of

<sup>1</sup> P C Ray—*ante*

<sup>2</sup> Takakusu, pp 158-62

<sup>3</sup> Beal. Life of Hiuen Tsang (Trubner) Introd, pp 20-21

<sup>4</sup> Chāntamūla is Skt Sāntamūla.

that sacred mount. All the art, all the philosophy and literature of the Buddhist epoch and what is more, the emotional instincts, the critical acumen and power of expression underlying them all are a priceless legacy which has entered into the intellectual make up of the scholars and people of Āndhra. And to this legacy has richly contributed Nāgārjuna Bodhisattva, the Axis of Buddhist lore, the Christ of Mādhyamika, and the St Paul of Mahāyāna, a magical name baffling the most brainy in sheer intellectual power and moral force.

### *Nāgārjuna's Successors*

Āryadēva, the Buddhist zealot, Bhāvavivēka the skilful dialectician and Dignaga who lived for some time near Vengi were some distinguished names who shed lustre on Āndhradēsa after the time of Nāgārjuna. In her favourable climate were composed many works of rare ability.

The most prominent of Nāgārjuna's disciples was Āryadēva also known as Dēva, Kānadēva and Nilanētra the fifteenth patriarch. Religious zeal and fiery eloquence brought about the untimely end of this South Indian savant at the hands of an assassin. A sound scholar, a widely travelled man, and a writer of distinguished ability, he scored many a triumph over the *śrīśāstras* in Chuliye, in Kosala, in Pātaliputra and elsewhere and occupied a high place in Nālanda. In his *Satasāstra*, he refutes Sāṅkhya and Vaiśeṣika. In his *Chitta Visuddhi Prakaraṇa*, he ridicules the Brahmīns' superstitions regarding the Ganges. He is said to have been fond of preaching the *Andhakavinda Suttanta*.<sup>1</sup>

Itsing places Bhāvavivēka earlier than Dignaga and Dharmapāla. Whereas, he is held as a contemporary of Dharmapāla by Hiuen-Tsang. He was a follower of Nāgārjuna and lived in a cave south west of the capital of Dhānyakataka. He is the author of a number of learned and subtle works, *Mahāyāna-pariṇirvāṇa śāstra*, *Prājñā lampśāstra*, *Sāṅkhya Tantrasāra*, etc. He was a skilful dialectician who 'externally displaying the Sāṅkhya garb, internally propagated the learning of Nāgārjuna'. He was perhaps an Āndhrī.<sup>2</sup>

A contemporary of Kālidāsa and disciple of Vasubandhu, Dignaga of Kāñchi became a distinguished *Yogācāri* and

<sup>1</sup> Watters I and II

<sup>2</sup> Watters II

largely lived in Andhra. He travelled through Mahāśāstra and Orissa controverting the *mithikas*, converted a minister of the King of Orissa and founded sixteen mahavihāras. He was the founder of pure logic, which he distinctly differentiated from religion and philosophy. The *Pramāṇa Samuccaya* 'one of the grandest literary monuments' was composed on a solitary hill with a stone stūpa near Vengi, capital of Āndhra. It was the earliest work on modern pure *nyāya* which developed *pramāṇa* or evidence of knowledge. According to Beal, Dignāga had to controvert Īśvara Krishna, author of the Sankhya Kārika in Āndhra. This star of the first magnitude in Logic was author of 100 treatises according to Itsing. Some of his works were rendered into Chinese by Paramārtha in the sixth century A.D. He died in a forest in Orissa. According to Hsuen-Tsang, Dignāga or Jina was an Āndhra.<sup>1</sup>

Dharmakīrti was the pupil of another South Indian luminary Dharirapāla of Kāñchi. Undaunted by social ostracism, Dharmakīrti propagated Buddhism, defeated Kumāṇa Bhatta the champion of sacrificial religion, controverted the Jains and tried to bring back Kalinga into the Buddhist fold. But, his missionary efforts were unavailing as, according to Hsuen-Tsang, Buddhism had reached its nadir in Kalinga.

Several monks apparently of great distinction are found in inscriptions at Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakonda, Jaggayyapēta and Rāṃireddipalle, but nothing more is known of them than their names.

<sup>1</sup> Beal, vol. II. Watters vol. II. Itsing by Takakusu. S. C. Vidhya bhushan—*ante* I A IV, p. 363.



**PART II**

**THE**

**HISTORY OF ĀNDHRA BETWEEN**

**225 AND 610 A.D.**



## CHAPTER V

### INTRODUCTORY

PULUMĀYI IV was the last of the Sātavāhana kings. His rule must have ended about 225 A.D. allowing about four centuries and a half for the Āndhra dynasty after the death of Asōka. During the bulk of this period, the Sātavāhanas were essentially a Deccan power under whose aegis there was progress in all fields of activity. Signs of decline had already been in evidence a hundred years before the final exit of the Sātavāhanas from the stage of rule. Trouble was brewing in the north west frontier of their dominion. The Sakas, Pahlavas and Yavanas were making headway when Gautamīputra Sātakarni became alive to the danger and stemmed the tide of the foreign invasions. How far into the Deccan their inroads had been made already, we are unable to know. But certain it is that the foreign hordes had come to stay. They continued to show attention to the Sātavāhana empire which they coveted. Pulumāyi, son of Gautamīputra, tried to conciliate them through the good offices of the daughter of Rudradāman<sup>1</sup>, but, their innate predatory habits and cupidity were roused into activity by the weakness of the Andhra kings. Guided by discretion, valour failing, the successors of Yajña Sri confined themselves to their Āndhra homeland. Peace, however, was not vouchsafed to them. The expansion of the Ikshvākus from Dakshina Kosala and the assertion of the Pallavas south of the Krishna were the two events that inaugurated the new century. The Sātavāhana empire was dismembered, the last of the royal line flits out of existence from the Bellary region, thanks to the Pallava, and the aggressive Ikshvaku gave short shrift to the remnants of Sātavāhana power elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is Dr. Smith's view. But Dr. Dubreuil holds a different view. P. 44, *Ancient History of the Deccan*.

<sup>2</sup> There are some Āndhra coins in the Central Provinces of some scions of the old stock. *J.R.A.S.* 1903, 304, V. A. Smith. Catalogue of coins in the British Museum, p. 208.



*The Foreign Element*

Coincident with the break-up of the Śātavāhana power were the fall of the Kushānas and the rise of the Sassanids of Persia. What relationship these events bore to one another is unknown. But, it is likely that the rise of the Sassanids announced by a flourish of their war trumpets even far beyond their frontiers<sup>1</sup> might have extinguished Kushāna hegemony and applied some pressure to the Śakas and others to push further into India. Whatever the ultimate cause was, there was disintegration and darkness in India when the Āndhras of the Purāṇas ceased to rule. A number of foreign dynasties are said to have ruled in the post-Śātavāhana period, like the Gardabhins, the Sakas, the Yavanas, the Tusaras, the Muṇundas and the Maunas. After these came the Kīlakīla Yavanas<sup>2</sup> and Vindhyasakti (250 A.D.?). The reminiscences of Yavana rule in Orissa and Āndhra,<sup>3</sup> references to Yavana benefactions in early Deccan inscriptions and to Yavana traders in early Greek and Tamil books, the relationship between the Pahlavas and the later Pallavas and the mention of Gandhāra and Yavana as familiar kingdoms and of marriage relations between the Ikshvākus and the Sakas in inscriptions at Nāgārjunakonda<sup>4</sup>—these confirm that the foreign element in the Deccan population was not inconsiderable, that the foreigners who were hitherto neighbours of the Śātavāhana empire spread over it and that the new dynasties had foreign mixture in them though they adopted Hindu habits and manners, *gotras* and ancestry in entirety.

*The Assertion of Śātavāhana Feudatories*

Among the native dynasties of the post Śātavāhana period, the *Matsya Purāṇa* mentions a branch of the Āndhras known as the Śrī Parvatīya Āndhras of whom there were seven ruling for

<sup>1</sup> Journal and Text of the Buddhist Text Society of India, November, 1893, vol. 1, Part III, p. 18. Translation from *Sūtrapāṭi Chos ũng* which contains reminiscences of a Persian invasion of India repulsed by a king of Magadha, Dharmā Chandra, who belonged to a generation after Huvishka.

<sup>2</sup> Pargiter *Dynasties*, p. 72. The Vishnu Purāṇa calls Vindhyasakti himself a Kīlakīla Yavana.

<sup>3</sup> Wilson *Catalogue of Mackenzie MSS*, Introd., p. cxxiv, Hunter *Orissa*, vol. 1, p. 206, Vaidya *Mediaeval Hindu India*, vol. 1, p. 351.

<sup>4</sup> *ABIA*, Leyden, 1927, p. 11.

52 years They had begun to rule even while the main Āndhra dynasty had not died out The Ābhīras, another of the Sātavāhana feudatories ruled for 67 years after the extinction of their masters' rule <sup>1</sup> From inscriptions we learn that, in South Deccan, the nāga officials and princelings like Skandanāga <sup>2</sup> asserted their independence and soon gave way to the Pallava who, according to later tradition, obtained a kingdom by a nāga marriage The Pallava, when he first appears in history, is seated at Kāñchi with an extensive empire extending to Bellary on the one side and Amarāvati on the other Beyond the Krishna, the Telugu country was ruled by the Brihatphalāyanas along the coast up to the Gōdāvarī and the Ikshvākus in the rest

Worldly dominion is not eternal, it changes hands according to certain physical and moral laws The fortunes of the Pallavas, the Brihatphalāyanas and the Ikshvākus were shifting A revival in the power of the Chōlas of the south made its force felt on the rule of Kāñchi, the repercussions of the waves of the newly risen Kadamba dynasty made the Pallava halt in his march towards hegemony, acknowledge the Kadamba as a brother king and share with him a part of his territory, <sup>3</sup> and, above all, the invasion of Samudragupta temporarily paralyzed the Pallava by encouraging his enemies The Pallava bowed to the inevitable and retreated for a while into his homeland of Nellore and Guntur to return to Kāñchi with added vigour Save for this short interregnum, the Pallavas ruled from Kāñchi the bulk of Āndhra south of the Krishna uninterruptedly till the Chālukyas drove them to hide behind the walls of their capital No doubt, they had to put up a hard fight all the while on the Kadamba—Vākātaka war zone to their west and on their northern frontier with the newly risen dynasties, the Śālakāyanas and their successors the Vishnukundins

The Śālakāyanas inherited the Ikshvāku and the Brihatphalāyana kingdoms between the lower courses of the Krishna and the Gōdāvarī About the middle of the fifth century A D the Vishnukundins displaced the Śālakāyanas with the help they

<sup>1</sup> *E I*, viii, p 88, for an inscription of Mādhariputra Isvarsēna, Abhira

<sup>2</sup> *E I*, xiv, p 153 For inscriptions of the Chūtus, see *E I*, vii, p 51, x, Ap No 1021, 1195

<sup>3</sup> *E I*, viii, p 24, Tālagunda inscription,

secured from the Vākātakas of the Central Provinces <sup>1</sup> The last of the Vishnukundins accepted defeat at the hands of Pulakēśin II and gave up his crown to the valiant Chālukya

Beyond the Gōdavari, the veil of impenetrable darkness that prevailed about the history of the region is lifted by the expedition of Samudragupta No trace is available there to-day of Ikshvāku or Vākātaka rule though it is not possible to believe that both left the country out of their ambitious schemes For sometime after 350 A D, figure certain kings like Chandravarman of an unknown dynasty The Gangas of Kalinga get into the limelight about the middle of the sixth century, found an era, try to beat back the aggressive Vishnukundins who had carried their banner of victory as far as Ramatirtham and produce a series of powerful sovereigns who maintain their independence intact till they stoop to the Chālukya and let the deluge pass over But, the Chālukyan hegemony had come to stay With a natural boundary on the east and with their own kinsmen on the west, the Chālukyas of the Telugu country apprehended troubles from the Pallavas on the south and the Kalinga kings on the north From the seventh century onward, we read of Pallava-Chalukya wars in the place of Pallava-Kadamba conflicts and of Chālukya-Kalinga rivalry instead of Vishnukundin-Kalinga encounters

Sad as is the story of the wars, one cherishable object had been achieved The whole of Āndhra came under one rule After the fall of the Śātavāhana, the country was partitioned among three or more dynasties The beginnings of Telugu literature, the completion of the Brahminical revival and the increased economic activity resulting from a strong, unified administration were the greatest blessings of the long Chālukyan rule

These, in fine, are the landmarks in the history of Āndhra between 225 and 610 A D dealt with in the following chapters The account is imperfect here and there for want of more reliable evidences like a picture drawn by an artist with scanty data, but, so far as it goes, it has not violated the standard of Clío

<sup>1</sup> The Vākātakas expanded into Andhra in the wake of Ikshvāku fall, set back the tide of Kadamba progress and proved a thorn on the sides of the Śaṅkāyanas and the dynasty of Kalinga

## CHAPTER VI

### THE EARLY PALLAVAS (ABOUT 225-340 A D )

#### *The Pallavas, a mixed stock*

MUCH has been written on the origin of the Pallavas. But, it is still true to say that 'no complete answer can be given at present' <sup>1</sup> The Pallavas appear as a ruling dynasty in the south and south-east of the Śātavāhana empire immediately after the last Śātavāhana king, Pulumāyi IV. Their earliest inscriptions are like the Nāsik inscriptions of Gautamiputra Śātakarni, <sup>2</sup> and their early coins <sup>3</sup> are similar to those of the Śātavāhanas whose rule is said, on numismatic evidence, to have extended upto the Pālār. It is, therefore, likely that the Pallava dynasty started its career as a feudatory of the Śātavāhana.

The Pallavas were first a Telugu and not a Tamil power. Telugu traditions know a certain Trilochana Pallava as the earliest Telugu King and they are confirmed by later inscriptions. The first Chalukya King is said to have been met, repulsed and killed by the same Trilochana near Mudivemu (Cuddappah district). Reference has already been made to a Buddhist story making Kāla, the Nāgarāja (resembling Kālabhaira an early Pallava name) king of the region at the mouth of the Kṛishna. We have also the evidence of the *Mahāvamsa* which makes mention of a large number of monks attending a consecration ceremony performed by Duttagāmini from *Pallava Bogga* (100 B C). *Pallava Bogga* may be identified with the kingdom of Kāla in Āndhra which had close and early maritime and cultural relations with Ceylon and which was an ancient and popular home of Buddhism <sup>4</sup>. The earliest inscriptions of the Pallavas were found in the districts of Bellary, Guntur and Nellore and all the inscriptions of the dynasty till the rise of

<sup>1</sup> V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 1924 ed., p. 490.

<sup>2</sup> *E. I.*, vol. vi, p. 84, vol. i, p. 2, vol. viii, p. 143.

<sup>3</sup> They are doubtfully assigned to the Pallavas, see Rapson, *Coins of the Andhras, Kshatrapas, etc.* pp. 20-1, 82. Also Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 128.

<sup>4</sup> Geiger, Ch. xxix for *Pallava Bogga*. For Trilochana, see Chapter IX below. For the story of Kāla, see *J. R. A. S.* 1907, p. 341.

Śimhaviśnu were found in the districts of Guntur and Nellore. It is established on inscriptional testimony that the Telugu country south of the Kṛṣṇa formed the bulk of the Pallava kingdom till the last quarter of the sixth century A D. The omission of the Pallava from the lists of the Tamil dynasties in tradition<sup>1</sup> and early literature and the mention of Tīlōchana Pallava as a foe of the Chōla in the Kariḱāla traditions and in the Chendalūr copperplates (fifth century A D) lend weight to the argument that the Pallava was an intruder into the Tamil country.

According to the Vēlūrpalaiyam copperplates (ninth century A D) which may be taken to contain reliable traditions of the origin of Pallava power, Virakūrchā obtained a kingdom by a nāga marriage. In fact, the early relations between the Nāga and the Pallava had become so well established by the time that the myth of the birth of Pallava himself to Asvathāman and a nāga princess had grown. So, at any rate, in the ninth century, it was acknowledged that the Pallava was not a nāga as he had to marry into a nāga family to elevate himself to the kingly position. On certain evidences, it has been argued elsewhere<sup>2</sup> that the Telugu country, at least the southern part of it, was nāga.<sup>3</sup>

The earliest Tamil literature that throws any light on the region associated with the Pallava locates a certain Tiraiyan the elder<sup>4</sup> in the modern Gūdūr taluk of the Nellore district with a kingdom extending to Tirupati (or Vēngadam) if not even beyond it. This Tiraiyan is called the elder to distinguish him from another Tiraiyan the younger<sup>5</sup> whose capital was Kāñchi. The younger Tiraiyan is traced to the solar dynasty (of Ayōdhya) and late Tamil commentators identify him as the illegitimate son of a Chōla king and a nāga princess.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Mackenzie MSS. According to traditions and the *Periyapurāṇam*, Kariḱāla introduced civilization into Kāñchi. So, the Pallava came to Kāñchi only after the Chōla.

<sup>2</sup> The Origin of Śaivism, etc., pp. 10, 16.

<sup>3</sup> Whether nāga denoted a race, cult or culture is not clear.

<sup>4</sup> Aham, 85, 340.

<sup>5</sup> *Pattuppāṭi Perumbānāruppadaḱ*, 29-30, 454. He and Kariḱāla are sung by the same poet.

<sup>6</sup> In his full name Tondamān Ilam Tiraiyan, the last part Tiraiyan refers to the tribe to which he belonged, the tribal name originating in *tirai* (wave, or sea *sāgara*) which the prince of Kāñchi must have taken after

The Pallavas are the earliest to be associated by inscriptions with the region extending round Kāñchi. The Tīraiyar are one of the earliest to be associated by literature with the same region. If the Tīraiyar were nāgas, as it is likely since the prince of Kāñchi seems to have obtained the name Tīraiyar from his nāga mother, then the Pallavas who were not nāgas originally, came to be mixed up with them. This amalgamation of the two is borne out by a very late Tamil account which classifies the Pallava Tīraiyar as a section of the Tīraiyar<sup>1</sup>. It is partly on account of their mixed caste that the Pallavas were known later as *Kayavar*, *Nisai* (low caste), etc. much in the same way as the early Sanskritists classified the foreign hordes under *mlecchas*<sup>2</sup>.

Another tribe that is located in and beyond the region of Kāñchi by Early Tamil literature is the *Aruvālar* whose chiefs are said to have belonged to the *Ovīya naga* family<sup>3</sup>. Neither their exact habitat nor their relation, if any, to the *Bassaronagos* of Ptolemy is known<sup>4</sup>. Be that as it may, the second hint that is thrown out by Tamil literature only emphasises the nāga affinity of the dynasties that ruled in the northernmost part of Tamiḻaṁ and beyond it. And that the Pallavas were not nāgas may be presumed from the two distinct references to nāga marriage in the Vēlūrpālayam plates.

The original home of the Pallavas has to be looked for outside the first Pallava kingdom in Āndhra as the lower valley of the Krishna was occupied by tribes of the Nāga stock and as the Pallava had no Nāga affinities at first. And, there will be no straining of evidence if we identify them with the Pahlavas, an ancient people who appear together with the Śakas and the Yavanas in early Sanskrit literature like the

his mother's tribe and not after his father's as the Chōlas are not called Tīraiyar anywhere. The second part of the full name *Ilam* (young, skanda?) is used apparently in contradistinction with *Perum* (elder Brihat) which was borne by the Tīraiyar of Pavittiri. And the designation Tondaman, similar to Malayamān and Adigamān has a territorial significance, denoting the land of *tonḍai* creepers.

<sup>1</sup> Kanakasabai Pillai. The Tamils, 1800 years ago.

<sup>2</sup> Gopalan. The Pallavas, Intro.

<sup>3</sup> *Pattuppāṭṭu Serupānāruppadaṭṭu*, lines 111-126.

<sup>4</sup> M'Crindle, Ptolemy ed. by Majumdar, pp. 65, 185.

*Purānas* and the *Epics*<sup>1</sup> and in some early inscriptions of Vāsishti-putra Pulumāyī<sup>2</sup> and Rudradāman<sup>3</sup> Dr Jouveau-Dubreuil has traced, as far as available evidences permit, the evolution of the word and the migration of the people, Pahlava<sup>4</sup>. Suffice it to note here that these foreign hordes seem to have penetrated into the Deccan even before Gautamīputra as he found confusion in the social order and restored the system of castes. They seem to have come afresh to destroy the Sātavāhana empire ultimately. Evidences of Yavana rule, of marriage relations between the Sakas on the one side and the Satavāhanas and the Ikshvakus on the other, and of a huge cataclysm, social and political, brought about by foreigners according to the *Matsya Purāna* have been pointed out in a previous chapter. The Śakas and the Yavanas have merged in our society like the later Yue-chi and the Huns and so have the Pahlavas. But, in regard to the latter, the name is still retained<sup>5</sup>. When the Pahlavas made inroads into Andhra and mixed with the local tribes is enveloped in darkness.

Dr S K Iyengar who has expounded the indigenous theory of the origin of the Pallavas relies upon the later equation of the Pallavas with the Tondaiyar, the Kādavar and the Kāduvetṭis,<sup>6</sup> the last titles being acquired by the clearing of forests. It is remarkable, however, that early Tamil literature inhabits the later Pallava region of history with tribes which bear no obvious relations to the Pallavas. Another interesting argument of Mr Iyengar is the reference to two distinct Pallava kingdoms by Rajasēkhara of about the tenth century, one in the south and the other in the north-west. But, it will be readily granted

<sup>1</sup> See Venkayya's article in *ARASI*, 1906-7, p. 221

<sup>2</sup> Nāśik ins. E I viii, pp. 5, 9

<sup>3</sup> *E I*, viii, p. 37. Gīrnar ins., Suvisākha Pahlava was Rudradāman's minister

<sup>4</sup> The Pallavas

Ancient History of the Deccan, p. 55

<sup>5</sup> Some of the Persian and Assyrian motifs in early Amarāvati sculptures may serve to remind us of early Pahlava associations with the Telugu country

<sup>6</sup> *J I H* 11, Pt. 1

Some contributions of S. India to Indian culture

Gopalan. The Pallavas. Introduction

See also—Foulkes. The Pallavas. M. Srinivasaiyengar. Tamil Studies,

that the Pallavas of the south had changed beyond recognition of their original affinities in the course of centuries of stay in and of amalgamation with the Āndhra and Tamil peoples <sup>1</sup>

Again, Mr Rasanayagam<sup>2</sup> has ingeniously worked out the Chōlā nāga origin of the Pallavas, basing his thesis on early Tamil literature. His theory would be plausible enough if a single reference to their Chōlā relationship had been left in the Pallava inscriptions. Nor is there any the slightest resemblance between the mythical ancestries of the Chōlās and the Pallavas (though the Chōlās and the Tīrāiyar seem to be connected in a way in this respect). Both the scholars have, however, unravelled one half of the Pallava mystery.

The only safe conclusion on the evidences available to us is 'it is possible that the Pallavas were not one distinct tribe or class, but a mixed population, composed partly of foreigners and partly of South Indian tribes or castes, differing in race from the Tamils, and taking their name from the title of an intruding foreign *dynasty*,<sup>3</sup> which obtained control over them and welded them into an aggressive political power' <sup>4</sup>. As the Pallava dynasty could not have risen to such a prominent and powerful position (which it occupied in about 225 A D) in a short space of

<sup>1</sup> Dr Iyengar quotes Puṁṁangai's 'The Pallava, who is the ruler of the Tondaiyar' to prove his identification of the Pallavas with the Tondaiyar. P. 11. Intro. Gopalan. The Pallavas. For one thing there is not even a single reference to the Pallavas as a tribe in the inscriptions of the Telugu country whereas the 'Tondaiyar' denotes a tribe or tribes of the land Tondai. Secondly, a ruler of a tribe or tribes need not be of the same tribe. Thirdly, the reference of the Ālvār probably distinguishes the Pallava from the Tondaiyar. Curiously, on pp xvii and xiv, *ibid*, the Doctor speaks of the coming of the Pallavas into Tondaimandalam from the south eastern marches of the Satavahana territory (what those 'marches' were is not defined) whereas he was, just six pages above identifying the Pallavas and the Tondaiyar. Since Tondai and Tondaiman are mentioned in the so called Sangam literature, shall we say that the Pallava was in the Tamil country in the so called Sangam age i.e. early centuries A D? Again, the Pallavas as a people have to be distinguished from the Pallavas as a dynasty. Did the Pallava tribe or family come into Tondai from the 'marches'?

<sup>2</sup> *IA*, vol. 11, p. 75

<sup>3</sup> Italics ours

<sup>4</sup> V. A. Smith, 1924 ed., pp. 466-482



time, it is probable that it occupied a high place in the Sātavāhana court, governed a part of their empire as vassals and in time stepped into their shoes in South Deccan having, in the meanwhile, strengthened its position by marriage and other means

### *Genealogy and Events*

All our information about the Early Pallavas is derived chiefly from the Mayidavolu,<sup>1</sup> Hirahadagalli<sup>2</sup> and Kandukūru copper-plates<sup>3</sup> from the districts of Guntur, Bellary and Nellore. Since they are paleographically of the same age, it is possible that the kings in them refer to the same person. Thus, the following genealogy may be constructed <sup>4</sup>

Sivaskanda's father About A D 225

|  
Mahāiāja Śivaskandavarman *or*  
Vijaya Skandavarman

|  
Yuvarāja Buddhavarman  
*married* Chārudēvi

|  
Buddh(yan)kura

Since the father of Sivaskandavarman, the first Pallava king definitely known to history, could have become independent ruler of the region round Adōni in Bellary district only after Pulumāyi of the Myakadōni inscription (about 225 A D), his

<sup>1</sup> *E I*, vol vi, p 84, *M E R* 1900, p 4

<sup>2</sup> *E I*, vol i, p 2

<sup>3</sup> *E I*, vol viii, p 143

<sup>4</sup> The table of kings of the earliest period on p 33 of Mr Gopalan's book contains some obvious mistakes (a) There is no reason why he should omit Buddhavarman and put in Buddhyankura as the son of Skandavarman since he admits Buddhavarman as a ruler on p 34, and on p 48 he distinguishes Sivaskanda from Vijayaskanda (Vijaya is a prefix indifferently applied to kings and capitals) (b) It is not explained how a Viravarman is placed before Vishnugōpa (340 A D) on p 33 and how the same Vira, apparently, is placed after Vishnugōpa on p 59 (c) On p 39 again there is some confusion *re* Buddhavarman Buddhyankura. See p 165 of his book for the contents of the British Museum or Kandukūru C P. On p 35 he says that the *decisive* consideration for identifying Sivaskanda with Vijayaskanda is paleographical similarity between their plates. On p 39 paleographical considerations lead him to place Vijayaskanda between 275 and 340 A D after Sivaskanda,

accession to sovereign power may be dated towards the beginning of the second quarter of the third century A D <sup>1</sup>

The first Pallava king bequeathed to his son an extensive empire and a definite economic and religious policy as Śivaskanda does not appear to have struck a blow to build the empire and as he continued the patronage of Brahminism. Śivaskanda's father gave a great impetus to the revival of Brahminism (which was dormant on account of Buddhism) by his *yajñas* and grants of lands and clores of gold pieces to Brahmins. His distribution of one lakh of ox-ploughs must have been in pursuit of a definite scheme of forest reclamation and spread of agriculture in his kingdom. From his capital city of Kāñchi, Skanda's father ruled as far as Bellary on the one side (as Skanda has enlarged his grant there) and the Krishna on the other where there was a Pallava viceroyalty according to the Mayīdavolu copperplates <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gopalan fixes the passing of Tondamandalam into the hands of the Pallavas from the Chōla feudatories about the closing years of the third century A D, p 36. On p 35, he assigns Bappadeva to A D 215 and Skanda, his son, to about 240 A D. If Tondai was not conquered by Skanda at least, who conquered it? We know so little about Skanda's successors but we know for certain that Kāñchi was his father's capital. The ruler of Kāñchi must always be presumed to be the ruler of the surrounding region. On p 59 Gopalan assigns Śivaskanda to 220 A D and Vishnugōpa, apparently, separated from him by a generation to 340 A D.

<sup>2</sup> Is it possible that Virakūrcha was the father of Śivaskanda? Mahārāja Virakōṭṭhavarman was a pious and victorious warrior according to the fragmentary inscription at Darsi (*E I* vol 1, p 397) dated in the reign of his great grandson. Its alphabet is archaic and must be assigned prior to Ōmgōdu II, C P. It is in the time of the donor of the Darsi fragment the alphabet was archaic, then his great grandfather Virakōrcha must be assigned to a more ancient period. This Virakōrcha cannot be identified with Viravarman of the copperplates (*I A*, vol v, p 154) as the Darsi fragment could not have been engraved in archaic alphabet in the time of Viravarman's great grandson whom we know to be Śimhavarman, donor of Ōmgōdu II, C P. So, it is more reasonable to identify this Virakōrcha with the Virakūrcha of the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates (*S I I*, vol 11, pt v) who 'acquired a kingdom simultaneously with the hand of a nāga princess' and thus founded the greatness of the Pallavas. If Virakūrcha, father of Śkandasishya, was the first independent Pallava King, we may not be wrong in identifying him with Bappa or father of Skandavarman Maharaja. According to the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates, Virakūrcha is removed from Kāla bhārtr by a generation or so. Is it likely that the Śātavāhana hegemony

Maharāja Śivaskandavarman succeeded his father during whose reign he had played his part as Yuvarāja. He styles himself Dharma Mahārāja, agnishtomin, vājapēyin and asvamēdhin. He was thus a more powerful sovereign than his father but there is no certainty that his empire was bigger than his father's. At the time of his rule, about the middle of the third century A D, the Brihatphalāyanas ruled what was later known as the kingdom of Vengi and the Ikshvākus were perhaps in possession of the Andhra country stretching from about Śrī Sailam northward and extending indefinitely into Dakṣiṇa Kōsala and along the coast north of the Gōdāvarī. How far south of the Kriṣṇa and for how long a period Ikshvāku sway extended is a matter for speculation though it cannot be doubted that Amarāvati with some epigraphs in Ikshvāku script was once and for a short time part of the Ikshvāku empire. How far south of Kāñchi Pallava sway extended we are unable to say but it is known from later sources <sup>1</sup> that there was to be a Chōla revival against which the Pallava could hardly contend. If Pallava power in the time of Śivaskanda covered a considerable part of Karnāta outside Bellary is not known, though we are told later that the Kadamba with the alliance of Brihat Bāna fought from the forests of Śrī Sailam and wrested a part of his kingdom from the unwilling hands of a successor of Śivaskanda <sup>2</sup>.

There are two achievements attributed to a Śkandasishya whom we cannot positively identify with Mahārāja Śivaskandavarman. One is the capture of the *ghatika* (university town <sup>3</sup>) of

in Guntūr and Nellore districts was already undaunted before Virakūrcha as it was done in some other parts of Āndhra by the Ikshvākus?

It is very strange that Gopālan locates Virakūrcha two generations before Yuvāmahārāja Vishnugōpa (p 33). He is identified with Viravarman (same as the Viravarman of his table on p 33?). But see pp 51 and 59. On p 59 he locates Virakūrcha (Viravarman) two generations after Vishnugopa. On p 54 Virakūrcha ascended the throne in 358 A D as his son Śkandasishya (donor of Ōmgōdu C P 1) was a contemporary of Satyasena, Kshatrpa. So, two generations of kings have ruled between 340 A D and 358 A D, granting that Vishnugōpa ceased to rule in 340 A D. On p 61, Gōpālan suggests that Virakūrcha alias Viravarman is mentioned in the Darsi fragment. Then, the (archaic) fragment belonged to the age of Simhavaiṃan, donor of three copper plates. Strangest of all, is the alleged marriage between Chūta Pallava and a nāga princess referred to by Gōpālan on p 61.

<sup>1</sup> Velūrpālaiyam C P S I I 11, pt v

<sup>2</sup> Talagunda ins. E I viii, p 24

a Satyasēna <sup>1</sup> and the other is the construction of the *orukal* (single stone) *mantapa* at Tirukkalukunram (Chingleput district) <sup>2</sup> In the language of the inscriptions as well as in the administrative organization of Sivaskanda's reign may be noticed distinct northern influences which came in the train of the northern religions

Nothing is known about the successors of Sivaskanda The copperplate grant of Chārudēvi dated in the reign of Vijaya skandavarman, her father-in law, records a grant to a temple of Nārāyana whose cult was already old in the Nellore district

The next Pallava that we hear of is Vishnugopa of Kāñchi (340 A D) who is said to have been defeated, among others, by the illustrious northern Emperor Samudragupta The Pallava was still at Kāñchi between the time of Sivaskanda and the time of Vishnugōpa But, what happened after Vishnugopa to the Pallava hold on Kāñchi we are merely left to conjecture By this time, far-reaching political changes had taken place The Ikshvakus were a small power, and their whereabouts unknown, the Śālinkayanas had usurped the kingdom of the Brihatphalā yanas and extended their rule upto the Ghats, the Kadambas were just rising under the fervour of a Brahmin Kshatriya, and from the Chōla country came a new wave of expansion which engulfed Kāñchi and its lord The unsettlement caused by Samudragupta's expedition, the fury of the aggressive Kadamba and the Chōla deluge, gave endless trouble to the Pallava Vishnugōpa or his successor He had no other alternative than a flight to his Telugu homeland as the only other direction where he could have sought refuge was the deep sea to the east

The Pallava was only biding his time Kumāravishnu mentioned as having lived sometime after Skandasishya, captured Kāñchi And Buddhavarman, son of Kumāravishnu, was a

<sup>1</sup> Vēlūrpālayam C P J I H, vol II, pt 1, p 39 for Dr S K Iyengar's identification of Satyasena

<sup>2</sup> E I, vol III, p 279

<sup>3</sup> While Dr V A Smith dates Samudra's Southern expedition in 350 A D Dr Dubreuil assigns the great event to 340 A D Strategic reasons must have directed the king's attention first to the north but Dr Dubreuil follows Harisēna who composed the Allahabad ins and dates the southern expedition earlier

veritable submarine fire to the ocean of Chōla forces<sup>1</sup> The Chōla fire was quenched and Kāñchi once more became the Pallava metropolis and continued to be so for five centuries The Kadambas could not be so easily disposed of and many a hard battle had to be fought by the Pallava and by the Vākātaka to keep them within limits Once, they overran the whole Tamil country and the Pallava bowed to the storm and let it blow over The interesting story of the Pallava-Kadamba duel and of the doings of the successors of Viśhṇugōpa of Kāñchi (about 340 A D) will be dealt with in a separate chapter

<sup>1</sup> Vēlūrpālayam C. I. D. S. K. Iyengar takes the 'Chōla forces' to refer to the Kalabhras of Chōla p. xiv. Introd. Gopalan The Pallavas. See p. xiv for his view that there was no Chōla interregnum at Kāñchi before Kumāravishnu But, in the case of the first, the word 'Chōla' need not be strained to refer to a Kalamba of Chōla who may not be a Kalabhra and may turn out to be a Kadamba or of some native stock of Tanjore district The logical inference from the Vēlūrpālayam plates can be none other than that the Chōla was in Kāñchi and Kumāravishnu and his son drove him out Gopalan after expressing agreement with his Professor's opinion suggests that Kumāravishnu might have captured Kāñchi from a cousin of his or from the Kadamba thus tacitly coming round to the views that there were two branches of the Pallava and that there was an interregnum at Kāñchi before Kumāravishnu For Kalabhra Kalamba and for Pandit Raghavayengar's view of the native Kalamba, see P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar History of Tamil Culture (Madras)

## CHAPTER VII

### THE IKSHVĀKUS (ABOUT 225-340 A D )

THE name Ikshvāku carries back our memories to the glorious Solar dynasty of Śrī Rāmachandra. According to the *Purānas*, of the 100 sons of Ikshvāku, 48 ruled Dakshina. The foundation of Asmaka and Mulaka (on the Upper Gōdāvarī)<sup>1</sup> is ascribed by the *Purānas* to the Ikshvākus. While Lava ruled Uttara Kosala from Sravastī and became the founder of the dynasty of the well-known Prasenjit, Kusa founded the city of Kusasthali<sup>2</sup> at the foot of the Vindhya, married a nāga princess and held sway over Dakshina Kōsala (the kingdom proper corresponding to the modern Chattisgarh division of the Central Provinces). The last of Kusa's descendants known to the *Purāna* was Brihadbala, but, we have reasons to think that the dynasty did not end with the beginning of *Kālī* as the *Purānas* would make us understand. The recent discovery of valuable epigraphs at Nāgārjunakonda has given the lie direct to the tradition that Ikshvāku rule became extinct in centuries before Christ. Perhaps, even Bahubala, the last of the kings known from the said inscriptions was not the last of the Ikshvākus.<sup>3</sup>

#### *Ikshvāku relationship was coveted*

The high prestige that the Ikshvākus enjoyed in the Deccan may be gauged from the desire of many of the South Indian dynasties to associate themselves with them in one way or other. The Chōlas and the Gangas<sup>4</sup> claimed descent from them. The

<sup>1</sup> Mulaka is north of Asmaka. Or, it may be the later Mulakī nādu of inscriptions, round Śrī Saīlam. *Pāvu*, 88, 177-8 198, 207. *Vishnu*, iv, 2, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Kōsthalapura of the Allahabad inscriptions of Samudragupta?

<sup>3</sup> The address to the Buddha as 'the illustrious Ikshvāku' in a Nāgārjunakonda inscription and the inclusion of Suddhodana and Gautama in the Ikshvāku list of the *Purānas* introduce us to a still another branch of the glorious line of kings.

<sup>4</sup> Rice. *Mysore and Coorg from inscriptions*, p. 30, *EC*, vol. vii, sh. 4, 64. For Chōla descent see *E I*, xviii, p. 26. For Ilam Tiraiyan's pedigree see *Perumbānārrupadaḥ*, lines 29-30.

Tiraiyal chief Tonḍaman Ilam Tiraiyan of Kāñchi is given a similar pedigree by the poet Trilōchana Pallava is said to have come from Oudh according to some traditions and has early associations with the Sri Śailam region. The pretensions of the Chālukyas to have come from Ayōdhya explain their anxiety to link themselves with its famous dynasty. The Kēkayas of the Deccan were proud of their marriage alliances with the Ikshvākus and the Rajarshis<sup>1</sup>. The Kadambas were Hantiputras and 'perhaps descended from Angiras, Angirasa Hāntas being of the Ikshvaku lineage'<sup>2</sup>. If we can rely on the tentative reading of the new inscriptions by the Madras Epigraphist, one of the earliest of the Chālukyas (called *Chaluki* there) married an Ikshvaku princess. An Ikshvaku princess is said by a Nagārjuna-konda inscription to have married the king of Vanavasi, the capital of the later Kadambas. Neither the Śātavāhanas nor the Sakas (who seem to have been mainly responsible for the dismemberment of the Śātavāhana empire) were free from the attractions of the Ikshvaku family. For, in the surname and even in one or two of the Ikshvaku names found in the new inscriptions, one may perceive the hidden relationship between the Śātavāhanas and the Ikshvākus. Dr Vogel<sup>3</sup> rightly guesses that Rudradhara Bhattarika of Ujjain, the Queen of Vira Puṣyadatta the second Ikshvaku of Andhradēsa known to us was a Saka princess. Above all, one fact is clear that the Ikshvakus were the most famous family of Andhradesa, north of the Krishna, in the third century A D. This position they attained after the last Śātavāhana who has been assigned to the first quarter of the third century A D.

### *The Ikshvakus and the Śrī Parvata Andhras*

That the Śātavāhanas ruled over Āndhradēsa in the second century A D has been incontrovertibly established on sound numismatic and epigraphic evidences. So, the Ikshvakus must have expanded from Dakṣiṇa Kōsala southward after the extinction of the rule of their suzerains, the Śātavāhanas (225 A D). The celebration of the aśvamēdha by Chantamūla, Mahārāja and

<sup>1</sup> *E C*, vol xi, Introd, p 5, *D G* 161

<sup>2</sup> *Bomb Gaz*, vol 1, pt 11, p 287, f n 4

<sup>3</sup> *ABIA (Leyden)* 1927, p 11

Vāsishtīputra, was an assertion of his power and independence after the break-up of the Śātavāhana empire. While his capital is not definitely known,<sup>1</sup> the extent of his empire was limited by the Pallava dominion in the south, south east and south west and by the kingdom of the Brihatphalāyanas in the eastern half of the present Krishna district.<sup>2</sup> Chāntamūla is said to have annexed the great army of Virūpākshapati which may be taken to mean a defeat of the king of the western direction. If the great deed was accomplished by the Ikshvāku in his capacity as general of the Śātavāhana's army is more than what we can say at present. Nor can we answer precisely who the King was that was thus overthrown. For, the last of the Śātavāhanas, Pulumayi IV is said to have ruled the Bellary region, and according to the *Matsya*, a dynasty of Āndhras known as the Śrī Parvata Āndhras began to rule even during the life-time of the parent Śātavāhana dynasty.

The only dynasty that we know of in the Śrī Saila *Prānta* in the post-Śātavāhana period is the Ikshvāku. The only dynasty that resembles the Śātavāhana in name and surname (e.g. Vāsishtīputra and Mādhariputra) and is of the Āndhra country is the Ikshvāku. Like their overlords, the Ikshvākus were great patrons of Buddhist art and letters and this cannot be said of any other Śātavāhana feudatory, the Pallava or the Brihatphalāyana. In fact, the Ikshvākus took up the threads where they were left and continued to add to the spiritual lustre of their land by further beautifying Śrī Parvata which has deservedly been mentioned more than once as a very sacred spot in the sacred Āndhra country in the *Ārya Mañjuśrī Mūla Kalpa*.<sup>3</sup>

The Ikshvākus, thus, succeeded to the cultural inheritance of the Śātavāhanas, as they did, to a large part of their temporal

<sup>1</sup> Vijayapuri, east of Śrī Parvata (Nāgārjunakonda) is mentioned in an inscription and there are remains of civil buildings there. So it is likely that the capital was not far from Nāgārjunakonda.

<sup>2</sup> There is no evidence other than tradition to show that there ruled any other than the Śātavāhanas in the earliest historical period in Āndhra. Nor is it definitely known if, at any time, the Ikshvākus held sway over the whole of Āndhra. There are, however, a few place names which may indicate Ikshvāku sway. Ikshupuri (Cherukūru) in Guntur district, Kākulam in Krishna and Ganjam districts, Kākandi in Nellore district, Kākandi vāda (Cocanada) in Godavari district, Kākani in Guntur district are some of them.

<sup>3</sup> Vol i, p 88, vol ii, pp 627, 628



dominion and augmented the intellectual traffic along the Krishna with the outside world. So close seems to have been the affinity between the Ikshvākus and the Sātavāhanas and identical as are the Parvata of the Paivatiya Andhras and the Parvata of the Ikshvāku inscriptions, as also the periods of their rule that the suggestion is irresistible that perhaps the Puranic Saila Āndhras were the same as the Ikshvākus who undoubtedly ruled over the regions round Nāgārjunakonda and Jaggayyapēta in the second quarter of the third century A D.<sup>1</sup>

*Chāntamūla and Vīra Purushadatta*

Three generations of kings are supplied by the inscriptions at Nāgārjunakonda.<sup>2</sup> From an inscription of the reign of Mahārāja Mādhariputra Śrī Vīra Purushadatta, we get to know of his father Maharaja Vāsishṭiputra Śrī Chāntamūla. The latter was a great vēdic sacrificer and performed the agnihotra, agniṣṭoma, vājapeya and asvamedha. He also made the gifts hīranyakoṭi, gosatasahasra and halasatasahasra and thus patronized the Brahmin. These acts reveal the great *vaidiki* in Chāntamūla who was thus a saint-king of the Ikshvāku race. Though there is no room to suspect any partial leaning in him to the religion of the Buddha, like most of the kings of old, even this *vaidiki* must have respected all the religions then existent as the members of his family have contributed much to the Buddhist buildings on Parvata.

Chāntamūla 'of unconquerable will' had a son Mahārāja Madhariputra Śrī Vīra Purushadatta, the only Ikshvāku hitherto known to us from his Jaggayyapēta inscriptions.<sup>3</sup> He has been immortalized in the splendid benefactions at Nāgārjunakonda by the members of his family to the Buddhist communities resident there. The reign of Vīra Purushadatta was a red-letter day in the annals of Āndhra Buddhism, as royal patronage of Buddhism was not found in such a large measure at any subsequent period. Most of the ornate Ikshvāku epigraphs are of his reign and also

<sup>1</sup> There is such a paucity of materials for the period that we cannot hazard much beyond the realm of hypotheses. It may also be borne in mind that we know of no earlier Ikshvāku of Śrī Saila region than Chāntamūla and that no Ikshvāku calls himself Āndhra.

<sup>2</sup> For ins etc see *M E R* 1926 Ap and p 92, *M E R* 1927 Ap and p 71, *A R A S I*, 1925-6, *A B I A* (Leyden) 1926 and 1927.

<sup>3</sup> *E I*, vol x, Ap Nos 1202 and 1203.

the large number of stūpas, chaityas and vihāras recently excavated at Nāgārjunakonda. In his reign lasting more than twenty years, he made Parvata not only the beauty spot but the fountain of learning also in Āndhra. Curiously, the inscriptions supply us with no definite evidence as to his own religion, but it may be presumed that all his efforts were concentrated on the glorification of the religion of the great Ikshvaku, Gautama the Buddha.

The whole site of Buddhist buildings was called Vijayapuri in Śrī Parvata. But, every hill had a name as every stūpa, chaitya and vihāra. The adjoining hills were called Pushpagiri, Dēvagiri, Kantakasāla and so on.<sup>1</sup> The *mahāchaitya* containing the relics of the Buddha was renovated by Chāntisrī, sister of Chāntamūla, wife of Kandasrī of the Pūkiya clan and the aunt of the reigning king Vīra Puruṣa in his ever memorable sixth year. The ladies of the royal house take the lion's share in the erection of the buildings. The same Chāntisrī gave 300 coins (*denari masaka*) to the '*mahāchaitya*' and bestowed her attention on other communities like the Sramanas, Brahmanas, Kavanas, and Vanijas. The two queens of Vīra Puruṣa, Bapisrī or Chāntisrī his second aunt's daughter and Rudradhara Bhattarika of Ujjain vied with each other in making gifts.

The benefactions of an upāsika Bōdhisrī deserve special mention. Many chaityas, *mantapas* and *tatākas* were dedicated by her. In all probability she was a princess before she became an *upāsika*. The vihāras mentioned in her long inscription are Chuladhammagiri, Kulaha vihāra, Silaha vihāra, Dēverakana mahāvihāra, etc. There were, among other sects, the *Pūrva* and the *Avarasanas*, the *Bahusrutiyas* and the *Mahāsakas*. The construction of the buildings was supervised by Chandramukha Thēra, Dharmanandī Thēra and Nāga Thēra. Upāsika Bōdhisrī is said to have dedicated a temple to the fraternities of Ceylonese monks who had converted Kashmīra, Gandhāra, China, Tosali, Aparānta, Vanga, Vanavāsī, Yavana, Damila,—Iura, Ceylon, etc. This version of Dr Vogel is slightly different from that of the Madras Epigraphist according to whom 'this hill (Śrī Parvata) was sacred to pilgrims from Kāsmīra, Gandhāra, China, Aparānta,

<sup>1</sup> There is no reason for identifying Kantakasāla with Ghanasāla near the mouth of the Krishna,

Vanga, Vanavāsī, Tambapanni, etc.' Be that as it may, it is clear that during the third century A D there was intercourse between Āndhra and the above countries which was fruitful of great results for the evolution of Āndhra culture. The home of Nāgārjuna must have attracted crowds of pilgrims from far and near and Buddhist culture flowed along the Krishna to the wider world outside.<sup>1</sup>

Of the hundreds of monks and nuns that lived during the heyday of the history of the Ikshvākus, Upāsika Bōdhisī and Bhadanta Ānanda, a great scholar of the fraternity of Nandigāma (Krishna district) who consecrated the mahāchaitya stand out prominent. It is really strange that Nāgārjuna finds no mention in the inscriptions discovered thus far. According to *Ārya Mañjuśrī Mūlakaḥpa*, he was called Nāgāhvaya and he was well-versed in many *śāstras*, particularly in *mayūrī-vidyā*. He entered Sukhāvati and attained Buddhahood. Then, the work mentions a certain Sanghā and a certain Nanda, also distinguished Bhiksus.<sup>2</sup>

### *Bahubala*

The son and successor of Vīra Purushadatta was Maharāja Vāsīṣṭīputra Bahubala Chāntamūla. He may be roughly assigned to the last quarter of the third century A D. In the second year of his reign, Bhattidēvi, probably his mother, elected the Dēvi vihāra and Kandabalīsī his sister and Mahārani of Vanavāsī honoured the ascetics with another vihāra.

Perhaps Ikshvāku rule continued for a time after Bahubala in Āndhra till it was displaced by the Śāṅkayanas from one side and the Kadamba-Vākāṭaka expansion from the other. There is no evidence of any Pallava—Ikshvāku conflict and the existence of inscriptions in Ikshvāku script at Amarāvati is the only indication of Ikshvāku sway to the south of the Krishna along the coast. But, as yet it cannot be said with any degree of certainty that Ikshvāku rule did not once cover the lower valley of the Krishna up to the coast. The Ikshvāku-Pallava frontier along the Krishna was perhaps shifting from time to time.

Pallava-Kadamba rivalry on the one hand and Kadamba-Vākāṭaka conflicts on the other engross our attention after the

<sup>1</sup> Note the remark of Fahian that pilgrims came here from neighbouring countries, p. 63, Giles.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. III, pp. 626-7, 651.

meteoric descent of Samudragupta into the Deccan (A D 340) We are unable to identify the Ikshvāku among the kings the northern Emperor encountered in the Deccan<sup>1</sup> It is quite possible that the rise of the Kadambas was helped by the Ikshvāku as Mayūrsarman is said to have fled to the forests of Śrī Śailam to war against the Pallava There was marriage relationship between the Ikshvāku and the dynasty of Vanavāsī in the reign of Bahubala, but it would appear that the Kadambas had not risen then into a ruling power<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We may look for the Ikshvāku in Svāmīdatta and in Dhananjaya of *Kōsthala-pura* A later Vāsīstiputra Śaktivarman of Pithapuram has a surname like the Ikshvāku and the Śatāvāhana The later dynasties like the Kākatīyas who claim solar descent may be traced to the Ikshvākus

<sup>2</sup> The new inscriptions introduce to us a number of new clans like the Pūkiyas, the Dhatakas, the Sagara, the Chaliki, etc., the last two being implicit in the names of some of the princes The Ikshvāku must have married into the local families Chāntīśrī married her brother's *senāpati*, *mahātalavara* Vāsīstiputra Śkanda Śrī of the Pūkiya clan and their son was Śkanda *Sagaram* nāga Purushadatta's sister married Śkanda *Visakha* nāga of the Dhātaka clan, the *mahādandanāyaka* of her brother Another princess is said to have married *mahātalavara* Śkanda *Chaliki* Kammanaga of the Hūnamnaga (Ilam, Ceylon, nāga ?) dynasty Apart from the peculiar significance of the name ending nāga, the words *sagaram* and *Chaliki* seem to be of great import, as in all probability the Tamil Thaiyar and the later Chōlukyas lie hidden in them

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE ŚĀLANKĀYANAS (ABOUT 275-450 A D)

#### *The Brihatphalāyanas*

THE Śālankāyanas (whose dominion comprised the modern Krishna and West Gōdāvarī districts) probably succeeded to the kingdom of the Brihatphalāyanas who have left us but a single trace of their power in the Konḍamudī copperplates<sup>1</sup>. The epigraph is in prakṛit and in archaic script similar to the early Pallava inscriptions of Sivaskandavarman. So, Mahārāja Jayavarman, Brihatphalāyana, belonged to the same epoch, more or less, as Mahārāja Sivaskandavarman of Kāñchi. While the Brihatphalāyanas ruled north of the Krishna along the coast, the Pallavas ruled south of the river and the Ikshvākus west of the Ghats and perhaps north of the Gōdāvarī along the coast.

The Konḍamudī plates refer to the region round Masulipatnam, the Kūdūra of the inscription referring to Kūdūru near that town. Kudūru cannot be identified with modern Gūdūr as the latter was then within the kingdom of the Pallava (and at some unknown period within the principality of the *Perum Tīraiyān*<sup>2</sup> according to early Tamil literature). The name Brihatphalāyana was perhaps a family name as such a *gotra* is not found in the extant lists<sup>3</sup>. Under the influence of Brahminism, the chiefs of the mixed tribes along the Krishna and the Gōdāvarī assumed Brahminical *gotras*<sup>4</sup> and titles and adopted Brahminical rites. The Brihatphalāyanas were one such family and assumed the title of Mahārājas on the decline of Śātavāhana overlordship (225 A D). Jayavarman was a follower of Brahminism and a devotee of Śiva. What relations his family bore to the expanding Ikshvāku and the neighbouring Pallava and what happened to it after the reign of Jayavarman in the third quarter

<sup>1</sup> *E I*, vol vi, p 315

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to note the prefix *Brihat* to the Bāna, to this Tīraiyān and to the dynasty under notice

<sup>3</sup> But, many *gotras* have been lost

<sup>4</sup> In contrast to the Śātavāhanas,

of the third century A D are unknown But, it may be presumed that the Brihatphalāyanas were succeeded by the Sālankāyanas after about 275 A D to which date, more or less, may be assigned Vijayadēvavarman, Sālankāyana and asvamēdhin

### *Sālankāyana Genealogy*

Sālankāyana was a Vēdic *rishi* and his *gotra* was adopted by this dynasty of Vēngi Visvāmītra, Sālankāyana and Kausika are the three *pravaras* of the Visvāmītra *gana*<sup>1</sup> Ptolemy<sup>2</sup> locates a tribe, the *Salakenoi* somewhere about the Oroudian mountains bordering the region of the *Marsolor* but neither its exact locality nor its relation to the Sālankāyanas or to the Chālukyas can be ascertained at present A similarity in the names of the Pallava, Brihatphalāyana, Sālankāyana and other kings, the epithet *pitrībhakta* which they bore and the emblem of the bull which they had, raise a presumption about the sameness of their stock<sup>3</sup>

The history of the Sālankāyanas has to be reconstructed from half-a dozen copperplate charters<sup>4</sup> Working from paleographic evidence and from the Samudragupta-Hastivarman synchronism supplied by the Allahabad Pillar inscription, we may arrive at a workable genealogy and chronology The two prakrit grants must be given precedence in point of time to the Sanskrit grants Thus, Vijayadēvavarman of the Ellore prakrit grant and Vijayanandivarman and his son Vijaya Buddhavarman of another prakrit charter (now lost) came prior to Hastivarman (340 A D)<sup>5</sup> mentioned

<sup>1</sup> Pargiter Indian Historical tradition, p 237 *M R College Magazine* (Vizianagram) October 1922, p 46

<sup>2</sup> p 172, M'Cindie Ptolemy, ed by Majumdar

<sup>3</sup> It is this similarity that has made some writers infer that the Pallavas were once rulers up to the Mahānadi See Dr V A Smith Oxford History of India, p 207

<sup>4</sup> (a) Ellore Prakrit grant, *E I*, vol ix, p 56

(b) Another Prakrit grant (unpublished), *I A*, vol v, p 175, vol ix, p 100

(c) Pedda Vegi C P *Bhārati*, August 1924

(d) Kollēru, C P *I A*, vol v, p 175

(e) Kantēru, C P, vol ii *M E R* 1925, p 73

(f) Kantēru, C P *I*, *M E R*, 1925, p 73, Also *M R College Magazine* (Vizianagram), October 1922

<sup>5</sup> It is strange that even in the latest edition of Dr Smith's *Early History* Hastivarman is called Pallava Also Kurāla of Mantarāja is wrongly identified with lake Kollēru which is near Vengi the Sālankāyana capital

by the Allahabad inscription and by the Pedda Vēgī plates (in the latter as the great grandfather of the donor) It is not possible to assign to the kings of the prakrit charters a fourth century datum as prakrit inscriptions were rare then Nothing more is known of the second and third kings of the prakrit charters Vijayadēvavarman may be supposed to have founded the Sālankāyana power in Vengī as he celebrated the asvamēdha, half a century after the Ikshvāku Chāntamūla who had performed the sacrifice on a similar occasion

The Pedda Vēgī plates supply four generations of kings in continuous succession as father and son, Hastivarman, Nandivarman, Chandravarman and Nandivarman the donor In this list, the first was the same as the Vengī foe of Samudragupta and the script of the charter would confirm the datum for Hastivarman The Kollēru grant of Vijayanandivarman mentions the donor as the eldest son of Chandravarman There are two reasons for identifying the two kings of this charter with similar names in the Peddavegī plates (1) the Kollēru and the Peddavegī plates have the same *anāpti* Mulakūru Bhōjaka (though it is possible that the reference was to the official of Mulakūru and not to a proper name), and (2) it is impossible to identify this Nandivarman the donor with Vijayanandivarman of the Prakrit grant or with Nandivarman, son of Hastivarman, of the Peddavegī plates as the Kollēru donor calls himself the son of Chandravarman and not of Hastivarman Again, the resemblance in script between the Kollēru and the Peddavegī plates has to be taken into account

The Kantēru copperplates II may or may not be assigned to the donor of the Kollēru, Nandivarman The epigraphist sees some slight paleographic difficulty in identifying the Nandivarman, the donors of the Kollēru and the Kantēru II grants Nandivarman of the latter may be the Nandivarman, son of Hastivarman But, this does not vitiate our argument either as to the genealogy or the chronology of the period Lastly, there is the charter of Vijayaskandavarman, Kantēru I There is no place for him in the genealogy of the Peddavegī plates as they give a continuous succession for four generations The script of Vijayaskanda's inscription is similar to that of the grants of Nandivarman, eldest son of Chandravarman So, Vijayaskanda came sometime after Nandivarman Perhaps, Vijayaskanda came immediately after Nandivarman as it may

not be possible to allow chronologically any other successor besides

Mahārāja Vijayadēvavarman (Ellore C P)

Vijayanandivarman (I)

son

Yuvarāja Vijaya Buddhavarman (a Prakrit C P)

Mahārāja Hastivarman, 340 A D

son

Mahārāja Nandivarman (II) (Kantēru C P II)

son

Mahārāja Chandravarman

eldest son

Mahārāja Vijayanandivarman III  
(Peddavēgi C P and Kollēru C P)

? Mahārāja Vijayaskanda  
varman (Kantēru C P I)

### *Chronology and some events*

Besides the paleography of the plates, the only other determining factor for the chronology of the Śāṅkāyana kings is the contemporaneity of Samudragupta and Hastivarman of Vengi (about 340 A D). From this sheet anchor, we may work backward and forward allowing about 25 years as the maximum for each generation. We may also bear in mind some other facts relevant to this chronological scheme. Vijayadēvavarman calls himself king of Vengipura and he was a mighty Mahārāja. He could not have assumed the lordship of Vengi (near Ellore) when the Brihatphalayana Jayavarman ruled very near Vengi, i.e., in and round Masulipatnam. It is, again, unlikely that Vijayadēva performed a horse-sacrifice when the Ikshvāku power extended upto Jaggayyapētā in the reign of Vīra Purushadatta. So, Vijayadēva, Śāṅkayana, ascended the throne some time in the last quarter of the third century A D. Arguing now from the Hastivarman datum, we must allow for *at least* two generations between Vijayadeva and Hastivarman and thus we arrive at the same date, more or less, for Vijayadēva.

Working forward from Hastivarman, we arrive at about 440 A D for the end of the rule of Vijayanandi, donor of the Peddavēgi plates. His successor (brother?) Vijayaskanda ruled for some time when his realm was invaded by the Pallava from the south and subsequently taken from him (or from the Pallava) by the Viśṇukundins who were rising into prominence for the



west and to the north of the Śāṅkāyana. Closely interwoven with the chronology of the Śāṅkāyanas is that of the Viṣṇukundins one of whose plates supplies a relationship with the Vākātaka chronology, the date of the last Viṣṇukundin itself being determined by the arrival of Pulakesin II and his brother Viṣṇuvardhana. In the genealogy and chronology of the Śāṅkāyanas we have left some inevitable gaps but they have not stood in the way of arriving at approximate results as to the general scheme.

Mahārāja Vijayadēva the asvamedhin was the first to come out of obscurity and claim a high position among kings. Vengipura (represented to day by the hamlets of Peddavēgi and Chinnavēgi, 6 miles from Ellore) was the capital of all the Śāṅkāyana kings. The Brihatphalāyana power was destroyed, the Ikṣvākus were on the decline and could not have clung to the Jaggayyapēta region on account of the new Śāṅkāyana supremacy. There is no record, however, of Pallava-Ikṣvāku or of Śāṅkāyana-Ikṣvāku conflicts. Vijayadēva was a patron of Brahmins and a devotee of Śiva and the Sun. At Peddavēgi are the ruins of a temple to the Sun which is reminiscent of Śāṅkāyana associations.

Hastivarman is said to have won many military triumphs, over whom it is not stated. The Allahabad inscription reveals the utter dismemberment of Kalinga and Āndhra about the middle of the fourth century A D. Hasti's war exploits may allude to his part against Samudragupta and to his victories, if any, over his neighbours of Pithapuram, Pālakka and Kāñchi. The aftermath of Samudragupta's march seems to have been the weakening of the Pallava, the revival of the Chōḷa, and the rise of the Kadamba. So, the Śāṅkāyana was supreme. While little is known of the son of Hasti, Nandivarman the Charitable, Chandravarman seems to have inherited the warlike qualities of his grandfather. Chandra was the master of his neighbours. The Pallava charters speak of the numerous wars that Vīravarman and Skandavarman his son had to wage (against their neighbours). Attempts at exercising control over his neighbours ceased with Chandravarman, as by the beginning of the fifth century, Pallava expansion had begun once more. Vijayanandi III is known to us only as a worshipper of Sūrya and Viṣṇu, his Peddavēgi plates recording a grant to a temple of Viṣṇu, lord of the three worlds.

The attention of the Pallava was first directed to the south from his homeland of Nellore and Guntur and Kumāravishnu recaptured Kañchi and his son drove out the Chōla forces at the end of the fourth century A D Pallava expansion northward is evidenced by the Māngadur grant of Simhavarman which donates a village in Vengōrashtra (Vengi) This Simhavarman was a contemporary, more or less, of the Sālankāyana Vijayaskandavarman of Vengi So, the Pallava interregnum in the kingdom of Vengi took place in the time of the last known Sālankāyana We do not know if the Sālankāyana continued in Vengi as a tributary prince or if the Vishnukundin conquered the kingdom of Vengi from the Pallava Equally dark is the extent of the temporary Pallava sway in the northern districts in point of time as well as in point of territory The rule could have lasted only for a short time as about the middle of the fifth century the Vishnukundin became ruler of Vengi Mādhava III the first Vishnukundin to rule along the coast has made a grant from his camp at Kudavāda in the Gōdāvarī district, and his great grandson Vikramēndra has made a grant in the Krishna district It may be plausibly argued that the Sālankāyana held to Vengipura as the first mention of Lendulūru (modern Dendalūru) near Vengi as the Vishnukundin capital occurs in an inscription of the great grandson of Mādhava III But, it may be borne in mind that the last Sālankāyana plates so far discovered cannot be placed in the sixth century and that the Sālankāyanas and the Vishnukundins could not have ruled side by side as Mahārājas for any length of time It is equally difficult to assign a long period to the Pallava at Vengi between the last Sālankāyana and the first Vishnukundin rulers of the area

### *Brahminical Revival*

Within the small ambit of territory delimited by the kings of Kalinga north of the Gōdāvarī, by the Pallavas south of the Krishna and by the Kadamba-Vākāṭaka war zone on the west, the Sālankāyanas ruled with the proud and great title of Mahārāja, accelerating the revival of Brahminism and the resuscitation of Sanskrit language and literature The threads of their policy were taken up by the Vishnukundins and a new impetus was given to the rising tide of Brahminism by the protégé of the Vākāṭakas who were themselves in close touch with the classical revival of

the Gupta age in the north<sup>1</sup> Āndhradēsa is thus slowly lost to Buddhism with which her culture is saturated and the Kadambas, the Gangas and the Pallavas of the south come within the sphere of the Gupta religious and cultural sway. The cult of sacrifices largely swept away its enemy into the sea and assumed great importance in the state. *Pūrvamīmāṃsa* was practised to a fault and the Brahmins, ever delighting in *yajna*, lighted the sacred fires which slowly quenched the Buddhist and scorched the Jaina creeds to death. The mention in the inscriptions of the Sālan-kāyana and other later dynasties of only Hindu temples and the reference in those records to Brahmins of various *gōtrasp*ationised by kings and *yajnas* celebrated by the rulers is a significant commentary on the relative positions of Buddhism and Brahminism. Kumārila Bhatta, Śrī Sankarāchārya and the Bhakti cult were still to come with tempestuous force to Āndhradēsa to wipe away the two religions, Buddhism and Jainism, which had lost all vitality.

<sup>1</sup> Fahian remarks about the desertion of, and the Brahminical revival in *Poloyu* (Parvata).





D 1518  
GENERAL VIEW OF THE ROCK-CUT TEMPLE BHIRAVAKONDA NELLORE DT

## CHAPTER IX

### THE LATER PALLAVAS (ABOUT 340-610 A D )

#### *Genealogy*

THERE is little difficulty in putting together the lists of kings supplied by the following copperplates and in evolving a genealogical table agreeable to the paleographic evidence and the historical facts supplied by them — Ōmgōḍu I, Uruvapallī, Pīkīra, Ōmgōḍu II, Māṅgaḍūr and Chūra grants <sup>1</sup> The earliest of these is Ōmgōḍu I which resembles the Pīakrit grants in point of dating and which supplies the following kings —

Kumāravishnu, aśvamēdhin  
                   son  
 Skandavarman, acquired a kingdom  
                   son  
 Viravarman, a great victor  
                   son  
 Vijayaskandavarman, donor of the C P in his 33rd year

The kings found in Pīkīra, Māṅgaḍūr and Ōmgōḍu II copper plates are the same, Viravarman, Skandavarman, Yuvamahārāja Vishnugōpa and Simhavarman in continuous succession as father and son So, this list may be tacked on without dispute to the above, identifying Viravarman, son of Skandavarman of Ōmgōḍu I and Viravarman of the three later copperplates Thus,

- 1 Kumāravishnu  
                  son
- 2 Skandavarman  
                  son
- 3 Viravarman  
                  son
- 4 Vijayaskandavarman  
                  son
- 5 Yuvamahārāja Vishnugōpa  
                  son
- 6 Simhavarman

<sup>1</sup> *a* Ōmgōḍu I (Guntūr district) *E I*, vol xv, p 246, issued from Tāmbriṇṇa (Chebrōlu) Guntūr district

*b* Uruvapallī (Nellore district) *I A*, vol v, p 50, issued from Palak kada (Nellore district)

*c* Pīkīra (Nellore district) *E I*, vol viii, p 159, issued from Menmatura

*d* Ōmgōḍu II *E I*, vol xv, p 252, *M E R* 1914, p 82

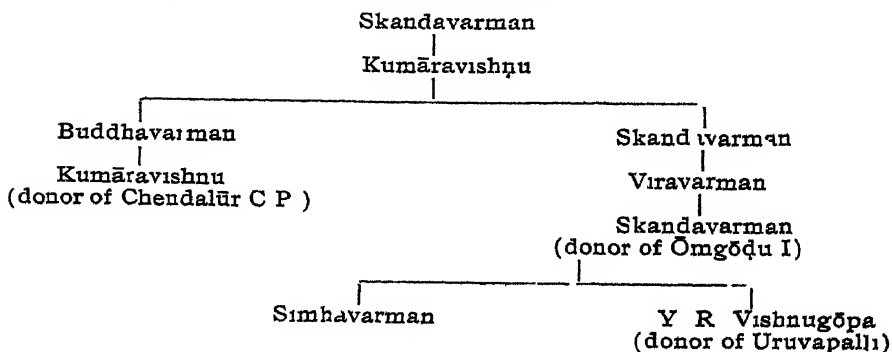
*e* Māṅgaḍūr (in Vengi, Krishna district) *I A*, vol v, p 154, issued from Dasanapura (Nellore district)

*f* Chūra, *M E R* 1914, p 82

The Uruvapalli grant gives Nos 2-5 in the above list, and No 5, the donor Vishnugōpa dates the charter in the eleventh year of the reign of a certain Simhavarman. Dr Fleet identified this Simhavarman as the elder brother of Vishnugōpa and Dr Dubreuil has fallen in with the view of Dr Fleet. While, Dr S K Iyengar has identified him with No 6 in the above list, the son of Vishnugōpa on the ground that Vishnugōpa did not ascend the throne as king. Apart from the improbability of the father being Yuvarāja in his son's reign, the Vēlūpālayam plates refer to a king Vishnugōpa before Nandivarman and he calls himself a great victor which shows that he took great interest in temporal matters and nothing seems to have prevented him from ascending the throne before his son unless it were the long reign of his elder brother Simhavarman. The Chula plates add to the above list their donor Vijaya Vishnugōpavarman, son of Simhavarman No 6 and, curiously enough, call the father of Simhavarman, Maharāja Vishnugōpavarman.

So far, the arrangement is flawless. The primary difficulty arises in fitting in with the above list the line of kings found in the Chendalūr copperplates.<sup>1</sup> The difficulty is the greater as they are dated from Kāñchi while the half-a dozen charters mentioned hitherto were issued either from Nellore or from Guntūr district. Skandavarman, Kumāravishnu, Buddhavarman and Kumāravishnu figure in the Chendalūr grant which is assigned in point of script to a period between 450-550 A D.

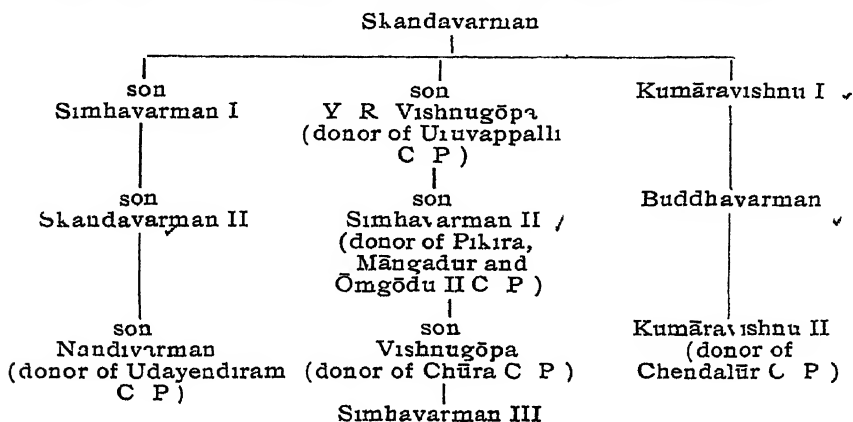
Dr Dubreuil has identified the first Kumāravishnu of the Chendalūr grant with No 1 in our list above. Thus, he added a Skandavarman above Kumāravishnu and arrived at



<sup>1</sup> *E I*, vol viii, p 233

The difficulty in the above arrangement seems to be of a serious kind as the donor of the Chendalur copperplates of about the fifth century is placed a generation earlier than Skandavarman, donor of Ōmgōḍu I grant which, made in his 33rd year, was nearer the age of Pāṇini in point of dating, etc. The French savant added Skandavarman and Nandivarman of the Udayendīram grant below Simhavarman <sup>1</sup>

Dr S K Iyengār, whose arrangement was followed, more or less, by Mr Gōpālan<sup>2</sup> solved the problem in a different way



The obvious defect in the above scheme is chronological. How to provide for three sets of contemporaries, especially when the Doctor does not believe in the theory of two branches of the Pallava dynasty, has not been properly taken into account. Of the nine descendants of Skandavarman, not even one can be omitted from the ruling list (including his second son Yuva-mahārāja Vishnugōpa) as there is inscripational evidence to prove that everyone was a Mahāīāja. In assigning dates and places in succession for the kings of his list, Mr Gōpālan passes on from one branch to another in an arbitrary manner and chooses kings in succession in no particular order. The probability seems to be that soon after the reigns of Simhavarman II and Skandavarman II the Pallava kings Kumāravishnu II, who captured Kāñchi, Nandivarman I, Simhavarman III occupied the Pallava throne. <sup>3</sup> If it is assumed that all the three

<sup>1</sup> S I I, vol II, p 361

<sup>2</sup> p 59

<sup>3</sup> Pp 68-69. Very strange it is that Kumāravishnu II is said to have captured Kāñchi expressly against the available evidence. Our arrangement



branches ruled from Kāñchi and if any of the branches is taken down to the end, as it must be done according to the inscriptions, then it will become too late for the earlier members of the other two branches to rule, if not to live. The point may be explained further. The Kumāravishnu branch is placed earlier than Vishnugōpa and others and next to Skandasishya in the Vēlūr pālaiyam plates <sup>1</sup> and it is assigned an early place in the Vāyalūr list <sup>2</sup> however confused it might be in other respects. However, to follow Dr Iyengar and Gōpālan, let us place the Kumāravishnu branch next to Skandavarman as they do. Then, Kumāravishnu I who captured Kāñchi was followed by his son Buddhavarman according to the Chendalūr and Vēlūrpālaiyam plates and Buddhavarman by Kumāravishnu II according to the Chendalūr plates. Is it reasonable then to assign the next places in the chronological scheme to Simhavarman and Vishnugōpa of the two *senior* branches, the grandfathers of Kumāravishnu II? Or, let us take the first line as succeeding Skandavarman. Then, Simhavarman

of the available facts must be based on a historical and logical basis. Was there no rule of succession? Similarly, Dr S. K. Iyengar confounds the Kumāravishnus on pp xxiv-v. Compare the table on p 59. On p 53 Mr Gōpālan assigns Skandavarman, son of Virakurcha and father of Simhavarman, Vishnugōpa and Kumāravishnu I to 383 A D.

<sup>1</sup> S. I. I., vol. 11, pt. v

Kālabhartr

|  
son

Chūtapallava

Virakūrcha married a nāga

|  
son

Skandasishya took the *ghatika* of Satyasena

Kumāravishnu captured Kāñchi

|  
son

Buddhavarman, defeated the Chōlas

Vishnugōpa

Nandivarman

Simhavarman

|  
son

Simhavishnu

<sup>2</sup> M. E. R. 1908-9, Dubreuil. The Pallavas, p. 20

must be followed by a Skandavarman according to the Penukonda plates and the spurious Udayēndiram grant <sup>1</sup> And when we take down the line to Nandivarman, it will be too late for the earlier members of the other branches Nor will it be possible to allow the brothers Simhavarman, Vishnugōpa and Kumāravishnu to succeed one after another and then pass on to the next generation and so on The essential difficulty arises on account of the fact that all were Mahārājas who must be assigned places in succession to Kāñchi Thus, chronological confusion results from this scheme into which three errors have crept (a) the three sets of kings were contemporaneous, whereas it is clear that the Kumaravishnu branch came earlier than the Vishnugōpa line and it would appear that the first to capture Kāñchi was Kumāravishnu after whom alone the rest of the later Pallavas of Kāñchi must have come, (b) there was only one Pallava dynasty ruling from Kāñchi and there was no other in the northern districts, though none of the charters of Vishnugōpa's branch is dated from Kāñchi and there are as many as five of them, and (c) the identification of Simhavarman of the Uruvappalli plates and Simhavarman son of Vishnugōpa and the consequent confusion of the two Simhavarman and their achievements <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The grant supplies Skandavarman his son Simhavarman a great hero, his son Skandavarman and his son Nandivarman *S I I*, vol II, p 361, *I A*, vol VIII, p 169, 213, *E I* III p 14? For the Penukonda plates, see *E I* XIV, p 331 *Note this Simhavarman a great hero had a son Skandavarman, while, another Simhavarman donor of three grants had a son Vijaya Vishnugōpavarman* The two Simhas are not identical So it is reasonable to assume that the Penukonda plates refer to Simhavarman 'the great hero' and his son Skandavarman and not to Simhavarman II and Skandavarman II his successor of Mr Gopalan's list, p 59, 68-69 of his book

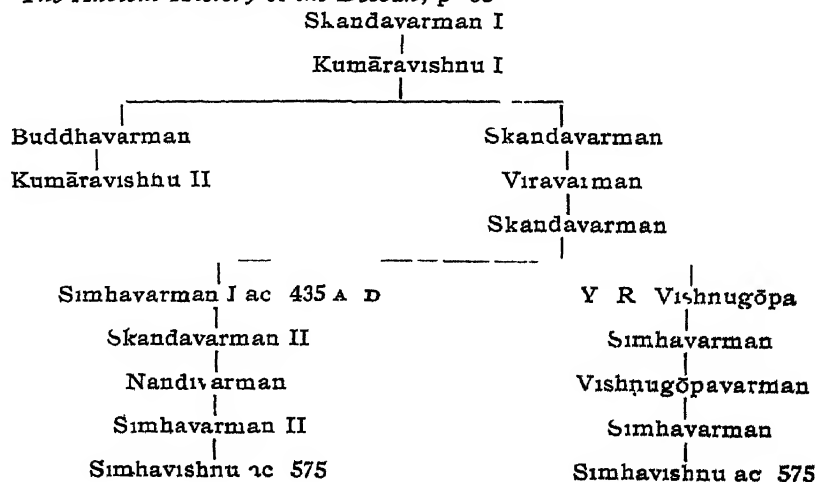
<sup>2</sup> Simhavarman brother of Vishnugōpa has to be clearly distinguished from Simhavarman son of Vishnugōpa In our opinion the latter was not a king of Kāñchi though he was undoubtedly a great king and occupied temporarily the Śāṅkayana kingdom The first Simhavarman and his son Skandavarman are mentioned in the Penukonda CP The first Simhavarman was the contemporary of Dignāga of Kāñchi He is mentioned in the *Lokavibhāga* as the ruler of Kāñchi There was always the utmost friendliness between the two branches of the Pallavas and on more than one occasion the northern line supplied a king to Kāñchi Probably it was during the Pallava

There is no reason why we should omit some kings arbitrarily from a chronological frame-work. When it is distinctly known that Kumāravishnu and his son Buddhavarman were Mahārājas and distinguished ones too, it is not easily understood why they should be passed over and why only the donor of the Chendalūr plates should be selected as ruler in his branch. The succession from Simhavarman, son of Skandavarman, down to Simhavishnu is more or less uninterrupted if the lists contained in the Penukonda, Vāyalūr and Vēlūrpalāyam plates are read together. Can it be contended that Kāñchi was captured by a Kumāravishnu, and the Chōlas were driven out by Buddhavarman between Simhavarman and Simhavishnu? If Vishnugōpa issued his Uluvappalli grant in his son's reign according to Dr. Iyengār and Gōpālan, then what was the place that Simhavarman and his son Skandavarman of their list were occupying then?

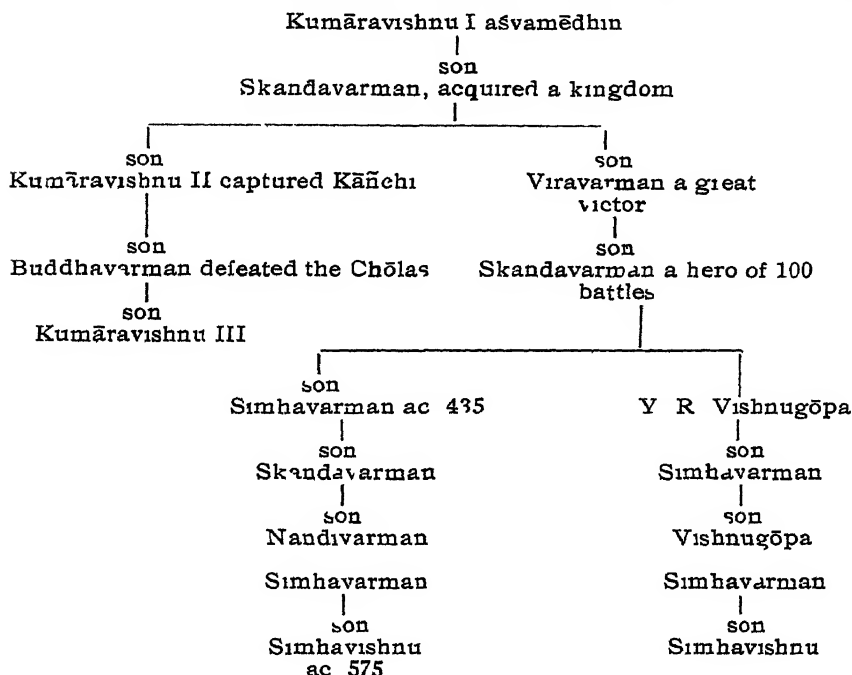
All these difficulties are easily got over by Dr. Dubreuil's arrangement. By putting together the relevant parts of the Udayēndīram, Vēlūrpalāyam and Vāyalūr inscriptions, he gives a continuous succession from Simhavarman to Simhavishnu, thus.<sup>1</sup> The whole scheme is clear, logical, chronologically sound and paleographically unexceptionable save for the flaw we have referred to already.

interregnum in Vēngi that Dignāga went there and Buddhāditta was patronized. See Gōpālan, pp. 62, 69, for his identification of the two Simhavarmanas.

<sup>1</sup> *The Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 66.



In fitting in the Chendalūr copperplates with the Ōmgodu I grant, the question may be asked, why should we not identify Skandavarman of the Chendalūr copperplates with the first Skandavarman of Ōmgodu I grant? Then we will arrive at



In the above scheme, the paleographic defect of Dr Dubreuil's is avoided but we have to put in three kings of the name of Kumāravishnu whereas even in the longest list in the Vāyair inscription there are only two of that name. Again, the chronological difficulty has to be overcome. In the above scheme, Kumāravishnu, father of Buddhavarman, must be assigned to about 360 A D allowing 25 years for each generation backward from Simhavarman (ac 435). Then, we come to the border of the Early Pallavas whom we have dealt with in an earlier chapter. While it is impossible at present to identify Kumāravishnu and his son Skandavarman with the Early Pallavas (the early Skandavarman having ruled about the third quarter of the third century), unless we date the beginnings of Pallava rule at Kāñchi at the end of the third century A D, it is equally difficult to assign two such distinguished predecessors to Kumāravishnu, the captor of Kāñchi somewhere between 300 and

350 A D If we identify Skandavarman son of Kumāravishnu in the above list with the Mahārāja Sivaskandavarman (ac 250 A D), then it is untenable that a son of his should succeed in about 360 A D In fact, the relation between the Early Pallavas, Sivaskandavarman, Buddhavarman and Viṣṇugōpa and the later Pallavas Skandavarman, Kumāravishnu and others is not obvious though it is undoubted that the later Pallavas (of the Sanskrit charters) were lineally descended of the early Pallavas (of the prakrit charters)

Dr Dubreuil, however, offers the following explanation for the paleographic defect in his scheme 'If, instead of comparing the letters, we compare the general aspect of the writings, the Chendalūr plates appear to be a little irregular and disorderly which is a characteristic of the ancient documents, whereas, the plates of Uruvappallī, Māngadūr, Pīkīra possess the order and regularity that belong to more modern writings However, I do not believe that, in general, a comparison of the alphabets can give us any very correct information Not only the plates of the Pallavas but also those of the Gangas and the Kadambas prove that the alphabets differ much according to the scribes who have engraved the plates, and the documents of the same reign do not sometimes resemble one another Lastly, I think that there is no need to compare the Chendalūr plates dated from Kāñchipuram with those of Uruvappallī dated from Palakkada, Māngadūr dated from Dasanapura and Pīkīra dated from Mēnmatura the towns Palakkada, Dasanapura and Mēnmatura were probably in the Guntūr district, that is, far away from Kāñchipuram and the difference of the countries fully explains the difference in the alphabets '¹

### *Chronology*

There is only one definite date in Pallava history, that given by *Lōkavibhāga*² according to which a certain Simhavarman ascended the throne of Kāñchi in about 435 A D This Simhavarman was the father of a Skandavarman according to the

¹ *The Ancient History of the Deccan*, p 65

² Mys Arch Rep 1909-10, p 45, *J R A S* 1915, p 471 Mr Krishna Śāstri does not agree with the *Lōkavibhāga* datum (*E I* xv, p 252) because it does not agree with certain astronomical particulars mentioned in Ōmgōdu C P 11 But, the Śiṃha of *Lōkavibhāga* was not the Śiṃha of Ōmgōdu

Udayēnduam grant and both are mentioned in the Penukonda plates of Mādhava Ganga as having successively crowned two Ganga kings. Another datum of which we may be sure, more or less, is that of Simhavishnu, a contemporary of Vishnuvardhana and the poet Bhāravi.<sup>1</sup> Working from the chronology of the western Chālukyas, we arrive at the same date, the last quarter of the sixth century A D for Simhavishnu. If we include Vishnugōpa, after Simhavarman there ruled five kings between 435 and 575 A D and allowing for an interruption after Nandivarman on account of an apparent break in succession and perhaps on account of Kadamba troubles also, the average for each reign is not high. Three more generations before Simhavarman would take us back to about 360 A D for Kumāravishnu the Captor of Kāñchi.

*Were there two branches?*

The Early Pallavas described in Chapter VI were the ancestors of the Later Pallavas. But, the link between the two is not clear at present. Originally it was the custom to inscribe in Prakrit but Prakrit gave way to Sanskrit in course of time.

As only the Chendalūr plates among Pallava inscriptions of the fifth and sixth centuries mention Kāñchi and connect the Pallavas with the city, we have to infer that the other Pallavas who date their copperplates from places in Nellore and Guntūr districts were not connected with Kāñchi at all. If they had been related to Kāñchi, they would have clearly said so, as the Early Pallava and the Chendalur grants say. Again, the order of succession and chronology of the plates dated from Nellore and Guntūr districts are without any gap and the kings of the Chendalur and Udayēndiram grants cannot be fitted into the list. In whatever order we may arrange the kings of these Pallava grants, we have to confront two lines of contemporary kings after the time of Vishnugōpa (340 A D). A certain Ugravarman of Palakka (Palakkada?) mentioned as a contemporary of Samudragupta sounds like a Pallava name. And a pillar inscription at Amaravati in early Pallava script contains a Pallava dynasty.<sup>2</sup> These would lead us to infer there was another branch of the Pallavas in the Telugu districts as different from the

<sup>1</sup> Proc of the Oriental Conference, 1922 and 1926

<sup>2</sup> *S I I* vol 1, p 25, *E I* vol xviii, p 148

Pallavas of Kāñchi Howsoever we may arrange the genealogy, a separate line of kings from Viravarman down to Vishnugōpa of the Chūla plates not connected in any way so far known with Kāñchi, has to be postulated and they were cousins of the main line To assign the kings of the two branches places in succession to the same kingdom of Kāñchi will lead to chronological impossibilities<sup>1</sup> The northern branch succeeded to Kāñchi when Simhavarman son of Skandavarman and, later, Simhavishnu ascended the throne in the south

*Was there a Chōla Interregnum ?<sup>2</sup>*

The Pallavas of Kāñchi had to contend against the Chōlas when they occupied Tondai, for Kāñchi was within easy reach of only that Tamil dynasty, and was prized by the ambitious Chōlas and made a part of their empire The Chōlas were the only foes the Pallavas could have had in the third century A D to threaten their dominion of Kāñchi

From the inscriptions of Maharāja Sivaskandavarman it is clear that the Pallava sway round Kāñchi was undisputed Some time after Vishnugōpa must have occurred one of the epochs of Chōla revival For, Kumāravishnu the asvamēdhin who may be assigned to about 360 A D is said to have captured Kanchi And what is more, his son Buddhavarman is said to have fought hard against the Chōlas The probabilities are that the Chōlas invaded and took the Pallava capital and a little later, the Pallava recaptured it

Karikāla the great Chōla emperor is connected by tradition with a Trilōchana Pallava Karikāla is said to have punished Trilōchana for having disobeyed his orders In early Tamil poems containing references to the great deeds of Karikāla, this

<sup>1</sup> Probably, there was another branch somewhere in the Ceded Districts, where the Nolamba-Pallavas were found later and where the Hirahadagalli plates mark an early Pallava sway

<sup>2</sup> *A R A S I* 1906-7, p 224 and *S I I*, vol II, p 503 for a Chōla interregnum But, Gōpālan argues against an interregnum, see p 63 It may be that Karikāla did not live so late but that cannot stand in the way of Chōla invasion Mr Krishna Sastri suggests the Kadambas or the Chōlas as the usurpers, *E I* vol VIII, p 28 and xv, p 249 On p 65, Gōpālan suggests the possibility of a Kadamba *interregnum* On p xxiii of Mr Gōpālan's book, Dr Iyengār says that the 'Chōlas' whom Buddhavarman fought were the Kalabhras, the Kalambas of Buddhadatta There is no certain evidence for the equation The Chōlas were too weak to invade Kāñchi in the fifth century

exploit against Trilōchana is conspicuous by its absence. The Chōla conquered the *Oliya nagās* and the *Aruvōlar* of Tondai, the *Vadavar* (Telugus) and the *Poduvar*.<sup>1</sup>

Attempts have been made to pitchfork Karikāla into the Pallava period. There appear two interregnums in the Pallava history of Kāñchi, before Kumāravishnu I and after Nandivarman.<sup>2</sup> But neither of these periods would be suitable for Karikāla. According to the late inscriptions of the Telugu Cholas who claimed descent from Karikāla, Karikāla II grandson of his great namesake founded one branch of the Telugu Chōlas, Dasavaiman the second grandson conquered Pākārāshtra with its capital Potappi and Tondamāna the third grandson became lord of Tondai.<sup>3</sup> Neither in the second half of the fourth century A D nor at the beginning of the sixth century A D would it have been possible for Karikāla and his grandsons to plant their power in the Telugu districts. Karikāla did not encounter the Pallava as he conquered only the *Oliya nagās* and the *Aruvōlar* in Tondai. This stage of tribal states in Tondai was pre-Pallava.

The troubles to the Pallava in the fifth and early sixth centuries came from the Kadambas. In spite of repeated Kadamba attacks, the Pallavas like Kumāravishnu II, Simhavarman, Skandavarman and Nandivarman were powerful. In the reign of the last king, the Kadamba trouble was at its height and the Chola fortunes were at a low ebb. Buddhādatta of the fifth century speaks of his contemporary Kalamba king in Chōlanādu, enough evidence for proving the sad state of the Chōlas.

Telugu traditions and late Telugu inscriptions equate Trilōchana Pallava and Vijayāditya the first Chālukya king in point of time. And since Karikāla and Trilōchana are alleged to be contemporaries as stated above, the date of Karikāla is sought to be established thereby. Vijayāditya was the grandfather of

<sup>1</sup> Pattinappālai, lines 274-82

<sup>2</sup> For full references on Trilōchana Pallava, see my note *Was Karikāla a contemporary of Trilōchana Pallava?* pp 383-8 in the History of the Tamils by Mr P T Srinivasa Iyengar (Madras, 1929) and Trilōchana Pallava and Karikāla Chōla by Dr Venkataramanayya (Madras, 1929). If the Chālukyas were in the Deccan in the third century A D, the story of the invasion of Vijayāditya their first king will have to be revised. Neither Pallava nor Western Chālukya inscriptions speak of Trilōchana and of his exploits against the Chōla and the Chālukya.

<sup>3</sup> S I I vi, No 628, No 650. See also M F R 1900, p 17 (22 August)



Pulakēsin I (ac 550 A D) and so Karikāla lived in the fifth century A D. But, it has already been demonstrated that the state of the Chōla then was far from enviable and there was a contest for supremacy between the Kadamba and the Pallava. At any rate, the traditional Trilōchana-Vijayāditya synchronism helps us little in fixing the age of Karikāla in the fifth century. The continuous traditions about Trilōchana from about the seventh century and the ambition of many small Telugu dynasties of a later day to link themselves with him prove at best that he was an ancient and famous Telugu sovereign. The rise of the Chālukyas into a big power might have been attempted at his expense in the Śrī Śailam region. But it is not possible to locate the rise of the Chālukya, the existence of a powerful Telugu state under Trilōchana Pallava and the glorious expansion of the Chōla state under Karikāla (which was more powerful than Trilōchana's kingdom) either before Kumāra-vishnu I or after Nandivarman.

### *The Pallava Kadamba rivalry*

After Buddhavarman's defeat of the Chōlas, the centre of the storm that was brewing to swoop over the whole south was in the west, in the kingdom of the Kadambas of Vanavāsī.<sup>1</sup> In the Pallava-Kadamba hostilities, the Gangas of Mysore were the subordinate allies of the Pallavas.<sup>2</sup> The Pallavas lived to see the decline of the Kadambas and the rise and fall of another rival, the Early Chālukyan family.

The Tālaguṇḍa inscription,<sup>3</sup> the most valuable for Kadamba history, relates that the Kadambas rose into power under a certain Mayūrasarman who carved a kingdom for himself at the expense of the Pallava. Whatever the relation of Mayūra's dynasty to its predecessor,<sup>4</sup> the zeal of the founder left its stamp on all his successors and the policy of war and death to the Pallava initiated by him (Mayūra) was followed with varying success. Kadamba expansion from its home, Kanāra, was north-eastward across the present Ceded Districts, the

<sup>1</sup> The Kadambas were pirates (*Padirruppatṭu* 11-12, lines 1-3, 12-13. See Majumdar's M'Crindle Ptolemy p. 46. In *gotra* and in descent from Hārīti, the Kadambas resemble the Chālukyas.

<sup>2</sup> Penukonda C P.

<sup>3</sup> *E I*, vol. VIII, p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> *E I*, vol. IV, p. 1195. Luders's list.

cockpit of many a conflict, traditional and historical, between aspirants to political hegemony in the Deccan. The greatness of Kadamba expansion in the course of half a century (350-400 A D) can be gauged from the fact that the Vakātakas had to expand in the Deccan by defeating them and from the value attached to the Kadamba marriage alliance by the Vākātakas (the Guptas)

The Kadambas were perhaps the first to succeed in dislodging the Pallavas from a large part of the Ceded Districts,<sup>1</sup> defeated them several times and kept them at bay from their new capital at Uchangī in Bellary. After Kumāraviṣṇu I the asvamedhin and captor of Kāñchi, there were two branches of the Pallavas, the senior branch ruling from Kāñchi and the junior ruling the northern districts. There was close friendliness between the two lines and they united against their common foes the Kadambas. While Buddhavarman was engaged in wars against the Chōḷa, his cousin Vīravarman 'the victor,' 'the bravest,' 'the only hero on earth' and 'the subduer of many kings' was engaged in wars with his neighbours. Kumāraviṣṇu II of Kāñchi probably ruled jointly over both the parts of the Pallava kingdom as his Chendalur charter makes a grant in Guntū district. When Skandavarman, son of Vīravarman, ascended the throne of the northern Pallava principality, he had to continue the traditions of warfare bequeathed to him by Kumāraviṣṇu II and his own father. Skandavarman was 'the hero of 100 battles'. His younger son Viṣṇugōpa was again 'a great victor'. His elder son Simhavarman succeeded to the throne of Kāñchi and he and his successors had their share of wars as we learn from Kadamba inscriptions. Once the northern branch took the aggressive against the Śāṅkāyana as Simhavarman (son of Viṣṇugōpa) 'who subdued an assemblage of kings' has made a grant in Vengorāshtra. The Kadambas were the mighty enemy of the Pallavas during the epoch. Their trouble reached the highest pitch in the fifth century. Baffled by the Vākātakas in their attempts at northern expansion, the ambition of the Kadambas was directed against the Pallavas and their allies the Gangas. The relative positions of the Pallavas and the Gangas

<sup>1</sup> Rice, Mysore, II. Mayūra the founder attacked the Pallava in the forests of Śrī Śailam.

may be understood from the crowning of the Ganga Āryavarman and Mādhava by Simhavarman 'the unrivalled hero'<sup>1</sup> and his son Skandavarman. The Gangas were in subordinate alliance with the Pallavas possessing as much territory in Mysore as could be held against the aggressive Kadambas and the suzerain Pallavas.

The numerous Kadamba inscriptions present to us a vivid picture of the martial activities of the dynasty mainly directed against the Pallavas. Raghu was a great hero. Kākusthavari man (ac 425 A D) uprooted the Gangas, destroyed the Pallavas and boasted of his imperial connections<sup>2</sup>. Mrigēśavarman (ac 475 A D) was 'a veritable fire of destruction' to the Gangas and the Pallavas<sup>3</sup>. Ravivarman (ac 500 A D) uprooted Chanda danda of Kāñchi and re-established the Kadamba family. The Pallava fomented dissensions in the Kadamba family by siding Vishnuvarman against his cousin Ravivarman<sup>4</sup>. Vishnuvarman was the son of Krishnavarman who waged a disastrous war with the Pallava king<sup>5</sup>. Ravi rose to the occasion, slew his rival and dethroned the Pallava<sup>6</sup>.

From the Pallava and Kadamba inscriptions of the fifth century, it may be easily gathered that a most disastrous and unceasing war was being carried on between them, fortune now favouring one and at another time, the other. Perhaps, once or twice the Pallava had to abandon his capital, but as often he carried the war home to the Kadamba. The territory of the Ceded Districts, more or less, was the bone of contention in all the rivalries in that area but it was the plaything of fortune. A late reference to Nandivarman Pallavamalla's succession to Kāñchi from somewhere that region shows that the Pallava stuck to some portion of it. The reduction of the Kadamba who had reached the zenith under Krishnavarman II (ac 550 A D) 'lord of Dakshināpatha' and who befriended the Ganga by a marriage alliance was no easy task<sup>7</sup>. The Chālukyas alone could do it and the very tiger of the family 'with the boar crest', Pulakēśin II reigned supreme over them. Even before him, Pulakēśin I

<sup>1</sup> Udayēndiram C P

<sup>2</sup> Talagunda Ins

<sup>3</sup> Halsi C P I A, vol vi, p 25

<sup>4</sup> I A, vol vi, p 29

<sup>5</sup> E C, vol v, B L 121, vol xi, Introd, p 5 and D G 161

<sup>6</sup> I A, vol vii, p 30, Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p 24,

<sup>7</sup> Dubreuil A H of the Dec, p 106

(ac 550 A D) captured Palāsika (Hālci) and Triparvata and Kīrtivarman I defeated Krishnavarman II. Kīrtivarman was in fact 'a very choice elephant of a king who broke to pieces the Kadamba tree'. Thus, the Kadambas were reduced to vassalage and the Gangas were separated from the Pallavas. A new power rose in the Deccan, the Chalukyas to continue Kadamba politics with the Pallavas and conquer at a sweep the bulk of the Telugu country.

With this change in the Deccan came a change in the Pallava succession. After Nandivarman the victor came Simhavarmā, father of Simhaviṣṇu belonging to the northern branch according to the Vāyalūr inscription. Simhaviṣṇu (ac 575 A D) easily made himself master of the Tamil country and started an illustrious age in the annals of Tamil religion and arts.

### *The Ānanda Gōtra*

We do not know for certain whether the Kadambas at any time extended their rule towards the Āndhra coastal districts. But the Ānanda Gōtra founded early in the sixth century A D has the *Kapildhwaja* like the Kadambas<sup>1</sup> and it had its dominion in a part of Guntūr district. Kandara<sup>2</sup> the first of the Ānanda Gōtra so far known is said to have fought with his enemies at Dhanyakataka. The latter brought in their army a number of elephants which he routed.<sup>3</sup> Defeating Bennānātha (the lord of the Kīrṣṇa),<sup>4</sup> Kandara captured *Āndhra Sundarī* and drove a wedge between the Pallava and the Viṣṇukundin kingdoms. But the family was not independent for long. The grandson of Kandara was a feudatory of Mahēndravikrama, Vēgavatisānātha<sup>5</sup> (lord of the Vēgavatī i.e. of Kāñchi?) perhaps Mahēndriavarman I<sup>6</sup> (ac 600 A D).

<sup>1</sup> Rice *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. 1 pt. 11, p. 334—Dr Fleet writes thus 'The name Kandara is a variant of Kīrṣṇa, and this suggests that we may possibly have here an early Rashtrakūṭa record'. Probably Kandarapura (Kanteru) in Guntūr district was named after Kandara.

<sup>3</sup> *S I I*, vol. vi, 155 of 1899, ins. at Chējrāla.

<sup>4</sup> Was he a Pallava or a Viṣṇukundin that Kandara had to deal with? Probably the latter.

<sup>5</sup> *S I I*, vol. vi, p. 155 A of 1899, ins. at Chējrāla.

<sup>6</sup> Could it have been Vikramēndra I the Viṣṇukundin (end of the fifth century)? There is evidence for the sway of the Viṣṇukundin round Dhānyakataka. M E R. 1925-6—Ins. at Vēlpūru near Amarāvati on the right bank.

Two more names of the Ānanda Gōtra are known to us, Mahārājas Dāmōdaravarman and Hastivarman<sup>1</sup>. Their grants were made in the same district and it is obvious that they did not expand beyond it. Dāmōdara was a devotee of the Buddha, performer of Brahminical rites and patron of the Brahmins. People and princes were generous to all religions in those days and Dāmōdara was a typical product of the times.

The Ānanda Gōtra claimed to belong to Dhānyakataka and Trikūtaparvata (perhaps near Nāgājunakonda). From their names ending in *varman* and their bull seal, they were considered as belonging to the Pallava stock.

Obscured for some time by the hoar-frost of Kadamba expansion, the sun of Pallava glory shone again with undiminished lustre from Kāñchi to the Krishna. The epoch of the great Pallavas beginning with Śimhaviśnu was ushered in and together with it a new political rivalry. But, the Pallavas were not destined to be the masters for long of any part of the Telugu country. The Chālukyan invasion left Mahēndrarvarman I son of Śimhaviśnu only a few Telugu titles (as a painful reminder of his northern dominion) and ample scope to expand to the south where his family carved for themselves an immortal name.

<sup>1</sup> *E I*, vol. xvii, p. 327, *M E R* 1920, p. 95. *I A* ix, p. 102. The Mattepād (Ōngōle taluk) plates of Dāmōdara are in Sanskrit and prakrit and suggest for him a date earlier than the sixth century. The numbers in the plates are like those of the Ellore prakrit grant of Śīlankāyana Vijayadēva. For the Telugu surnames of Mahēndra Pallava see *M E R* 1909 p. 75.

## CHAPTER X

### THE VISHNUKUNḌINS (ABOUT 350-610 A D )

#### *Original Home*

HARDLY had the Pallavas overthrown the last of the Sālankāyanas of Vēngī when a new power came from the west to succeed to the Sālankāyana heritage. This dynasty was the Vishnukunḍin, new to Vēngī but apparently not a stranger to Āndhra as its earliest associations were with SRI Sailam and as all its charters have been found in the Telugu districts. A fresh impulse was given to the religious revival by the Vishnukundins, the protege of the Vākātakas who were in close touch with the classical renaissance in Northern India. With the entry of the Vishnukundins into Vēngī (about 460 A D ), the Vākātaka power reached its grand climax and since the Guptas were related to the Vākātakas, the Gupta political and cultural influences were felt as far as the Krishna valley.<sup>1</sup>

The earliest mention of the Vākātakas is in the inscriptions of Amarāvati of the second century A D. As a dynasty of rulers, the Vākātakas appear in the Central Provinces about the middle of the third century A D. They rose after the decline of the Satavāhana empire and began to expand south along the track of Ikshvāku progress when the Ikshvākus had declined. It was in Andhra west of the Ghats that the Vākātakas came into conflict with the Kadambas, and the Vishnukunḍins, when they appeared on the scene, were perhaps the palatine rulers of the Vākātaka empire in the south.

The Vishnukunḍins<sup>2</sup> claim to belong to Trikūta<sup>3</sup> and Malaya and according to their earliest charter, Ipūr copperplates II

<sup>1</sup> For the Vākātakas, see V. A. Smith in *J R A S* 1914, p 317, Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, S. K. Iyengar. *The Vākātakas* issued as a supplement to his *J I H* (Madras).

<sup>2</sup> *I A*, vol. xii, p 239 for the Vishnuvridha gōtra (a branch of the Bhāradwāja) of the Vākātakas. Vishnu also is a recognized gōtra. Vishnukunḍin is not in the extant gōtra list. The town of Vinukonda (Guntūr district) is connected by some with Vishnukundin.

<sup>3</sup> Kūta is corrupted into gūdem as in Pullareddigūdem.

their capital was (Ama)rapura. These three places have been identified with Tagaia, Mahēndiagiri (Gaṇjam district) and Amiaoti (Central Provinces) respectively. But evidence is lacking for locating the dynasty originally in the Central Provinces. None of their inscriptions discovered so far belongs to the Central Provinces. The third king of the Vishnukundins, the donor of the earliest grant Ipūr II calls himself a devotee of the God of Sṛī Sailam which is none other than the place of the same name in Kurnool district. The Vishnukundins had the lion-crest like the Kadambas. Their Trikuta and Malaya may be identified with places in the hilly Sṛī Sailam regions and (Ama)rapura may be only another place hard by<sup>1</sup>. It is not unlikely that this dynasty temporarily expanded upto Amarāvati in the teeth of the opposition of the Pallavas. But, it was only for a very short time that the Vishnukundins held sway in the Amaravati region south of the Krishna as Pallava supremacy over the district of Guntūi was undoubted and undisputed in the reigns of Kumaravishnu III and Skandavarman, son of Viravarman. Also the donor of the next grant Ipūr I (found in Tenali taluk) refers to his capital as Trivāṇanagara (not (Ama)rapura) and makes a grant in the district of East Gōdavarī. Thus, it is possible that the Vishnukundins succeeded to the place of the Ikshvākus in the Sṛī Sailam region and they were found and retained as such by the Vākātakas who successfully fought with the Kadambas and rolled back the tide of their invasion. Though they were apparently unsuccessful in their first entry into the coastal region on account of strenuous Pallava opposition, the Vishnukundins allied themselves by marriage with the Vakātakas and invaded and conquered the coastal region north of the Krishna (about 460 A D).

### *Genealogy*

There are five copperplates of this dynasty which serve as the source of its history<sup>2</sup>. There are stray references to

<sup>1</sup> The Ānanda gōtra claims to have belonged to Trikūtaparvata. Triparvata was a Kadamba capital. *J R A S* 1905, p 566 for Trikūṭa. See Rice *Mysore and Croog*, p 24, for Kadamba lion crest.

<sup>2</sup> (a) Ipūr C P II, (Tenali taluk) *E I*, vol xvii, p 337, *M E R* 1920, p 98

(b) Ipūr C P I, *E I*, vol xvii p 334, *M E R* 1920, p 98

Mādhavavarman IV in a work on prosody known as *Janāśraya* (Janasraya was another name of Madhavavarman IV)<sup>1</sup> and to another of the same name in a later inscription<sup>2</sup>

The inscriptions have been arranged thus in paleographic order Ipūr II, Ipūi I, Rāmatīrtham, Chikkulla and Gōdāvari grants Ipūr II grant has

Mādhavavarman, aśvamēdhin and lord of many  
|  
son  
Devavarman, a powerful king  
|  
son  
Mādhavavarman, a devotee of Śrī Śailam,  
capital (Ama)rapura

Ipūr I grant supplies

Govindavarman I, devotee of Śrī Śailam  
|  
son  
Mādhavavarman, capital Trivaranagara  
performed 1,000 agnishtomas  
made a grant in East  
Gōdāvari district

The Mādhavavarman of Ipūr I cannot be identified with Mādhavavarman II of Ipūr II, as the latter was the son of Dēvarman and had a different capital Nor can he be identified with Mādhavavarman I of Ipūr II grant as the epigraphist places Ipūr I later than Ipūr II in point of time Next come the three other plates, the dynastic lists in which it is not difficult to put in order

(c) Rāmatīrtham C P (Vizianagram taluk), *M E R* 1909, p 110, *E I*, vol xii, p 134, *M E R* 1913-4, p 102

(d) Chikkulla C P (Tuni taluk), *E I*, vol iv, p 193, *M E R* 1920, p 98

(e) Gōdāvari C P, *M E R* 1914, p 102, *E I* xviii This grant also known as Pulimbūru was found together with one of the E Chālukya Jayasimha I (633-66 A D) showing thereby that the Viṣṇukundin rule was closely followed by the Eastern Chālukyan Rudra Sarma the donee of Jayasimha's C P was the son of Śiva Śarma donee of Madhava IV's C P and the son's ownership was confirmed by the new king

(f) *M E R* 1925-6, p 3 a stone ins at Vēlpūru, 12 miles west of Amalāvatī, which mentions Mādhavavarman the Viṣṇukundin

<sup>1</sup> *Nītidvishashikā*, ed by V Prabhākara Sāstrī Preface by M Rāmākrishna kavi, p xiii (Madras, 1928)

<sup>2</sup> *M E R* 1901, p 81, also 1910, p 81, for a Mādhavavarman's association with Bezvāda in tradition



Rāmatīrtham C P	Chikkulla C P	Gōdāvarī C P
Mādhavavarman, devotee of Śrī Sailam, aśvamēdhin	Mādhavavarman, Md a Vākātaka, asva mēdhin, overlord	Vikramendra varman
son	son	son
Vikramendravarman, orna ment to both families	Vikramendravarman	Govindavarman
son	son	son
Indravarman, won victo ries in the east	Indrabhattāraka, warrior, conqueror of the East	Mādhavavarman, conquered the East
	eldest son Vikramendra	

Mādhavavarman of the Rāmatīrtham grant must be identified with Mādhavavarman of Ipūr I copperplates. This king is the best known of the Vishnukundins as having married a Vākataka princess and conquered the coastal region. Thus, we arrive at

Mādhavavarman I  
|  
son  
Devavarman  
|  
son  
Mādhavavarman II  
|  
Govindavarman I  
|  
son  
Mādhavavarman III, the first king of Vēngī  
|  
son  
Vikramendravarman I  
|  
son  
Indrabhattāraka  
|  
son  
Vikramendravarman II  
|  
son  
Govindavarman II  
|  
son  
Mādhavavarman IV *alias* Janāśraya

#### *Chronology and Events*

There is no evidence for the statement that the Pallava was lord of Vēngī when the Chālukya king Puṣpakēśin II led an expedition into the Telugu country. Mādhavavarman IV Vishnukundin was the king of Vēngī at the time and according to his Gōdāvarī plates, he was not confined to his kingdom but attempted to conquer the east, *i.e.*, north of the Gōdāvarī. Dating the last year of the reign of Mādhavavarman IV in about 610 A D and the starting year of the reign of Mādhavavarman III (the conqueror of Vēngī) in the kingdom of Vēngī in about 460 A D, *i.e.*, sometime after the last Śalankāyana, we get

about 150 years for six kings Mādhavavarman III is said to have married a Vākātaka princess probably in the reign of Pravarasēna II the grandson of Chandragupta II of Magadha (ac 380 A D) The Ipūr Plates I are dated in the 37th year of Mādhavavarman, the Rāmatīrtham plates in the 27th year of Indrabhattāraka and the Gōdāvarī or Pulimburu grant in the 48th year of the last Mādhava So, three of the six Vishnukundins of Vēngī had long reigns

The dynasty must have been founded *at least* four generations before Madhavavarman III and Madhavavarman I must therefore be assigned to the middle of the fourth century A D It is curious that the earliest Pallava emperor coincides in point of time with the earliest Ikshvāku emperor Chāntamūla, the asvamēdhin The next asvamēdhin we hear of is the Sālankāyana Vijayadēvavarman About three-quarters of a century later, just perhaps after Samudragupta's *digvijaya*, two more asvamēdhins appear in Mādhavavarman I of the Vishnukundins and Kumāravishnu I of the Pallavas

Mādhavavarman I Vishnukundin performed 'eleven asvamēdha and other sacrifices' and had 'a number of vassals' His son was the 'powerful' Dēvavarman Dēvavarman's son was Mādhavavarman II who from his residence at (Ama)rapura issued the Ipūr plates II found in Tenali taluk He ruled over Trikūta and Malaya and was a great devotee of the Siva of Śrī Parvata His reign lasted not less than (4) 7 years

With the expansion of the Vākātakas, the Vishnukundins came to be prominent From modern Berar, the Vākātakas expanded between 250 A D and 395 A D over the Deccan as far as the Krishna Prithvisēna I, the first to come South (ac 350 A D) is said to have conquered Kuntala over which the Kadambas of Vanavāsī had extended their sway<sup>1</sup> He ruled long and his son was Rudrasēna II, son-in-law of Chandragupta II (395 A D)<sup>2</sup> The reign of Prithvisēna I brought about the powerful relationship with the Vishnukundins Pravarasēna II, son of Rudrasēna II, further strengthened the Vishnukundins by marriage and enabled them to expand towards the Coast

<sup>1</sup> *A S W I*, vol iv, pp 53, 124 and 129

<sup>2</sup> From *Kuntalēsvora Dautyam*, it may be learnt that Chandragupta II extended his influence over the Deccan through his devoted son in law See Dr S K Iyengar The Vākātakas Kuntala proper was Southern Mahārāshṭra and S W Hyderabad, though it was loosely used to designate the whole of the Deccan 395 A D is the date assigned by Dr V A Smith to the marriage *J R A S* 1914, p 326 The date is accepted by Dr Dubreuil

The Vishnukundin Mādhava II was hitherto confined to his inland kingdom Mādhava III, son of Gōvinda I, donated from his camp at Kudāvāda, a village in Guddādi vishaya <sup>1</sup> (East Gōdāvari district) round Drākshārāma, and he should have obviously extended his kingdom to the Coast. He performed 11 asvamēdhas and 1,000 agnishtomas. His capital was Trivaranagara and he was a devotee of the lord of Sri Parvata. The Chikkulla plates call him 'lord of many vassals' and the husband of a Vakātaka. From his donation in the Gōdāvari district, it may be inferred that Mādhava III destroyed the Śālinkāyana dynasty of Vēngī which had been, in all probability, superseded by the Pallavas under Simhavarman, son of Vishnugōpa (about 450 A D.)

Vikramēndra I, son and successor of Mādhava III, was undisputed master of Vēngī. He was the ornament of both the families, the Vākātaka and the Vishnukundin. Vikramēndra's son was *Rāja* Indrabhattāraka, the donor of the Rāmatīrtham plates from Purāni sangama. Indra was a great warrior, conqueror of the east and distributor of large charities.

From the time of Indrabhattāraka, a keen struggle for supremacy took place between the Vishnukundins and the kings of Kalinga, which ended finally in the defeat of the former. But, Indrabhattāraka was successful against his foes as his grant was near Chipurpalle (B. N. Ry.)

Kalinga was united and powerful under its kings Chaudravarman, Umāvarman and Nandapiabhañjanavarman in the fifth century and a thorn on the side of the Vishnukundins and of the Śālinkāyanas before them <sup>2</sup>. Indrabhattāraka was the first to carry the war into the enemy's country and expand up to or beyond Chipūrpalle. The encounter between Indrabhattāraka and his foes is vividly described in the Gōdāvari plates of Prithvimūla, <sup>3</sup> a vassal of Kalinga. Indra of Kalinga formed a confederacy, according to Dr. Dubreuil, in which even Haṁsēna the Vākātaka joined and led his allies against Indra the

<sup>1</sup> Ipūr C. P. I. Guddādi was also known as Guddavādi.

<sup>2</sup> It is not likely that the Vishnukundins expanded from the region round Mahendragiri southward as the Madras epigraphist suggests. This inference rests upon the identification of Malaya over which the donor of Ipūr II is said to have ruled. But he was a devotee of Śri Śālam and there is no reason why the place should be identified with any other than the place in Kurnool though Rāmatīrtham too is referred to as *Sarila* in an ancient inscription on a seal found there.

<sup>3</sup> J. B. B. R. A. S., vol. xvi, p. 116.

Vishnukundin who put up a stiff fight against the mighty elephant forces of the North Indrabhattaraka of Vēṅgi seems to have conquered as his Rāmatīrtham plates testify

The Ajanta inscription of Harisēna, the great grandson of Pravarasēna II speaks of the conquest of Kuntala, Kalinga, Kōsala, Āndhra, etc Harisēna Vākātaka was a contemporary more or less of Vikramēndra and Indrabhattāraka The significance of the inscription should not be missed as it is clear from it that the Vākātaka was still the suzerain of the Deccan though it is not clear if Harisēna acted as an ally of Indra of Kalinga The establishment of the Vishnukundins on the coast by the Vākātaka was to create a buffer state as it were with the twofold object of keeping in check the Pallava in the south and the kings of Kalinga in the north as Kadamba alliance had been secured by the marriage of Kadamba Ajittabhattāraka and Narendrasēna, son of Pravarasēna II <sup>1</sup> This function of sentinel the Vishnukundins eminently fulfilled for two generations though they had to be warned of their subordinate position by Harisēna The assumption of the simple title of Rāja after Mādhava III is perhaps an indication of their subordinate position When the last Vishnukundin assumed the title of Mahārāja, external influences ceased to operate for a time over Āndhra The Vākātaka power had declined The Guptas and the Maukharis boast of victory over the lord of the Āndhras<sup>2</sup> who possessed thousands of rutting elephants but their influence passed away like that of the Vākātakas And Kalinga and Āndhra again became independent sometime about the first quarter of the sixth century A D But, Āndhra independence was shortlived, as the Chālukyan expansion had already begun in the west to sweep her into the net later on

The son of Indrabhattāraka was Vikramēndra II 'embellished with all royal virtues in childhood' He granted the village of Regonram on the Krishna to a temple of Śiva Two more generations of kings are supplied by the Gōdāvarī plates Their donor Mādhava, son of Gōvinda,<sup>3</sup> also known as Janāsraya,

<sup>1</sup> *E I*, vol ix, p 268

<sup>2</sup> Gupta inscriptions, p 228, *E I* xiv, p 110, *I A* xlv, p 125

<sup>3</sup> It is not possible to identify this Gōvinda with the Gōvinda of Ipūr I C P whose son had his capital at Trivaranagara The Epigraphist considers the Gōdāvarī C P as the latest palaeographically Again, Janāsraya is a special surname of Mādhava IV and it is not found in any other C P

crossed the Gōdāvarī to conquer the east and made a grant in Guddavādī Vishaya. In other words, he had to defend himself against the aggressive king of Kalinga. For, already in the time of Indrabhattāraka, the Vishnukundin empire extended up to Chipurpalle or about that region.

### *Their Capital and Coins*

The capital of the Vishnukundins was Lendulūru near the famous Vēngī, the capital of the Sālankāyanas. There are now extensive ruins on the sites of ancient Vēngī and Lendulūru. Eight miles north of Ellore there are the hamlets of Peddavēgī and Chinnavēgī removed from each other by half a mile and five miles to the north is Dendalūru, once Lendulūru with a number of villages round it. There are now a large number of Śiva temples in ruins and extensive mounds.

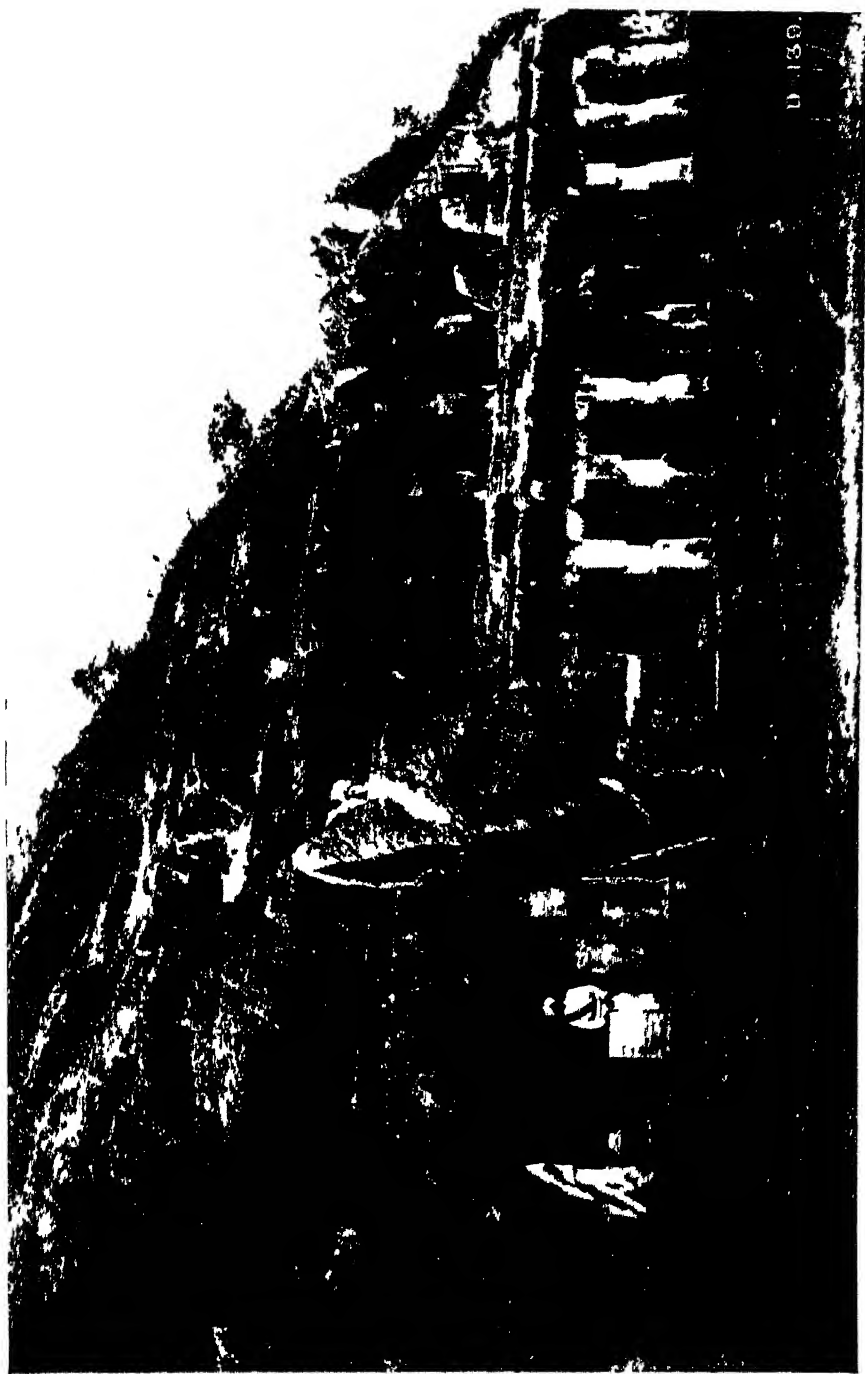
Coins with the lion and vase attributed to the Vishnukundins have been found in the district of Vizagapatnam<sup>1</sup>. Some of their seals exhibit the lion<sup>2</sup>. The lion and vase motifs (so profusely found at Amarāvati) in some of the rock cut caves at Undavallī and Mogalrājapuram are also noteworthy. Dr. Dubreuil places these and similar caves at Sitanagaram and Bezvāda in the age of the Vishnukundins<sup>3</sup>.

The devotion of this dynasty to the lord of Śrī Sailam is repeatedly mentioned in the copperplates and is but one of the many indications of a rapid Brahminical revival under royal patronage. The shrine referred to is that of the famous Mallikārjuna rearing its hoary head off the Buddhist Paivata sanctified by Nagārjuna.

<sup>1</sup> E. J. Rapson *Indian Coins* (vol. III, Ency. of Indo-Aryan research), also Dubreuil *A. H. of the Deccan*, p. 92, also V. A. Smith *E. H. of India* Plate, coin No. 16.

<sup>2</sup> *M. E. R.* 1909, *E. I.* vol. IV, p. 193, vol. XII, p. 133.

<sup>3</sup> These temples have a simple plan in origin. They are cut out of the face of a rock and contain a cell and a porch the latter supported on pillars. Plenty of this type are found in Dravida or Tamilaham and they are attributed to Mahendra I. Pallava. So the Vishnukundin style was the same as the Early Pallava style. The Madras Archaeological Department considers these early Āndhra rock cut temples as Pallava. Curiously the Madras Epigraphist (*M. E. R.* 1909, p. 74), thinks that they belong to the early centuries of the Christian era. The cell, halls, etc. of Undavallī are similar to the early Orissan cave style and remind us of the Buddhist epoch. Undoubtedly they are pre-Chālukyan as the E. Chālukyas made no rock cut temples, says the Epigraphist.



D 139  
GENERAL VIEW OF CAVE TEMPLE UNDAVALLI GUNTUR DT



## CHAPTER XI

### THE KINGS OF KALINGA

THE extent of Kalinga has varied between the mouths of the Ganges and the Gōdāvarī from time to time. Originally Dravidian as far as Tamuluk, Kalinga was more rapidly Aryanized than Āndhra. Kalinga seems to have been always divided among three or more kings from before the time of the Jātaka stories. In course of time, the name came to be appropriated by the present South Gañjam and Vizagapatnam districts, more or less. According to Hsien-Tsang Kalinga was south-west of Konyodha<sup>1</sup> (the present North Gañjam District). But in later inscriptions, Bhōgapuram and Yellamanchili in the Vizagapatnam district were included in Kalinga.<sup>2</sup> The Odras appear to have seized the northern parts of Kalinga before the time of Hsien Tsang, driving the Kalinga Rajas south into the northernmost outpost of the Telugu country in Vizagapatnam and a bit of Ganjam district.

There is no evidence to show the condition of Kalinga after Śātavāhana rule. No trace of Ikshvaku rule has been found in the country north of the Gōdāvarī down the Ghats. Nor is there any relic of Pallava rule in the area, though the names of some of the Kalinga kings, Chandravarman and Nandaprabhanjavarman (5th century A.D.) resemble Pallava names and they called themselves *pitrībhaktas* like the Pallavas and the Salankāyanas. Indeed, from the earlier evidence of the Jatakas, the Rājas of Kalinga may be said to have had the flag with the bull emblem and belonged to the Bhāradwāja Gōtra.<sup>3</sup> But, the data are quite insufficient to venture any conclusion on the point.

The veil is lifted by the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta in the middle of the fourth century A.D. The *digvijaya* before the asvamedha would not be complete if the southern direction were left out. In the Deccan there was no

<sup>1</sup> *E I*, vol vi, p 136

<sup>2</sup> *M E R* 1909, pp 105, 108, *E I*, vol xii, p 212

<sup>3</sup> *Jātakas* trans. Ed. by Cowell, vol iii, No 301 and iv, No 479,



strong and united empire in the middle of the fourth century A D. There was no king so powerful, as Gautamīputra Sātakarni or the later Pulakēsin II. The Kadambas had not yet risen. Perhaps the Vākātakas had not yet begun to expand southward as the first to do so was Prithvisēna I whose son married the daughter of Chandra Gupta II.

Some of the places and kings of Dakṣhināpatha contained in the Allahabad inscription have not yet been identified. The great Emperor is said to have captured and liberated (1) Mahēndia of Kosala, (2) Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra, (3) Mantarāja of Kaurāla, (4) Mahēndra of Paishtāpura, (5) Svāmīdatta of Kauttura on the hill, (6) Damana of Airaṇḍapalla, (7) Viśhnugōpa of Kāñchi, (8) Nilaraja of Avamukta, (9) Ugrasena of Palakka, (10) Hastivarman of Vēngī, (11) Kubēra of Dēvarāshtra, (12) Dhanañjaya of Kusthalapura and all the other kings of the region of the south.

Whether it was a mere funeral oration<sup>1</sup> of the court poet Harisēna glorifying his lord in the usual style, none has ventured to suggest. And even if it were such, there was nothing to prevent him from mentioning all the kings who actually ruled in the Deccan, but it is doubtful if a panegyric would have omitted the kings of the Western Deccan out of the list, specially when there was no mighty monarch there. According to Dr Dubreuil, all the states of the Deccan in the Allahabad inscription belonged to the East Deccan as Airaṇḍapalla<sup>2</sup> (Āmudāvalasa B N Ry) and Dēvarāshtra<sup>3</sup> were in Gañjam and Viṣāga-patnam districts according to later inscriptions. But the states are not found in the inscription in any geographical order. Samudragupta's march across W Deccan would give a completeness to his expedition and the location of five kings between the Mahanadī and the Gōdāvarī, three of them so near one another was not so likely.

Next to Mantaraja of Kaurala which has been identified with the lower valley of the Mahanadī is mentioned the king of Pithapuram, Mahendra by name. '*Paishṭapurakamahendragiri Kautturakasvāmīdatta*' has to be split into Mahendra of

<sup>1</sup> The inscription is not posthumous, says V A Smith who quotes Dr Buhler, *J R A S* 1898, p 386

<sup>2</sup> *E I*, vol xii, p 212

<sup>3</sup> *M, E R* 1908-9, p 109,

Pithāpuram and Svāmīdatta of Kottūru on the hill <sup>1</sup> Kottūru is about 11 miles from Parlākīmedī and has some ancient remains. So between the Gōdāvarī and the Mahānadī were two states with their capitals at Pithāpuram and Kottūru. Between the Gōdāvarī and the Kṛishna was the kingdom of Vēngī then ruled by Hastivarman. South of the Kṛishna were Ugrasēna of Palakka (Palakkada, Nellore District) and Vishnugōpa of Kāñchi. Nīlārāja of Avamukta<sup>2</sup> is unidentified, while, Kubēra of Dēvarāshtrīa and Damāna<sup>3</sup> of Airāṇḍapalla may be identified as kings of Mahārāshtra and Kandesh respectively. Dhanañjaya of Kusthalapura is again unidentified.

Samudragupta had a triumphant progress through the Deccan after which he celebrated the aśvamēdha. True it is, however, that the Empire of Samudragupta did not comprise the Deccan, but that is beside the point for a *digvijaya* before a horse sacrifice. Raghu is said to have desired victory only for the sake of justice and took possession of no land. Samudragupta had no peer in the land from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin and was a true *Samrat*. The Hindustan and Deccan were in disintegration. His expedition seems to have led on to two alliances as far as we know, one with the Vākataka in his son's reign and another perhaps with the king of Pithāpuram even in his own time. In all probability, these were the two states in the Emperor's opinion which had a glorious future. The later Vākataka-Vishnukundin alliance brought the south within the sphere of Gupta culture. The Pallava seems to have been paralysed after this time and this led to the rise of the Kadambas and to the revival of Chōla power. The use of the Gupta era<sup>4</sup> in Gañjam as late as the seventh century is reminiscent of earlier Gupta political sway and likewise the phrase 'ornament of the

<sup>1</sup> Another interpretation is that Svāmīdatta was king of Pithāpuram and Mahendragiri Kottūru. The *Raghuvarṇana* places the capital of Kalinga near the coast. So the question of identifying Kottūru (there is one on the coast also) seems with difficulties. According to the poem Kalinga was very powerful and Mahendragiri was in Kalinga. According to the inscription Kalinga was divided. If Mahendra was lord as far as Kottūru in Parlākīmedī where are we to locate the kings of Airāṇḍapalla and Devarashtra?

<sup>2</sup> See an interesting note on Avam in Āndhra in *J B O R S*, vol. xiv, pt. 1, p. 150.

<sup>3</sup> A familiar ending in the name of the Saka satraps of the Rudradāman line.

<sup>4</sup> *E I*, vol. vi, p. 143.

Magadha family' in Saktivarman's copperplate. A curious vestige of Samudra's invasion along the coast is a gold coin of the Emperor found in Sanghārāma.

It is a relief to find a supreme lord of Kalinga in Vasistiputra Saktivarman whose Rāgnolu plates<sup>1</sup> are in early southern alphabet and were issued from Pithāpuram. The grant was made in Kalinga Vishaya. Much importance need not be attached to the word *Vishaya* though it is undoubted that Saktivarman ruled over a larger area than Kalinga. He is said to have been an ornament of the Magadha family. Perhaps he was related to the Guptas. The surname of Vāsistiputra has not been found outside the Āndhra and Ikshvāku dynasties. Whether Saktivarman was in any way related to Mahendra of Pithāpuram or Svāmīdatta of Kottūru is not known but he was the Mahārāja of Kalinga. Nor is it possible to say why he was called the ornament of the Magadha family.

In the fifth century, a new dynasty attains pre-eminence over Kalinga. It is represented by Chandravarman, Umāvarman and Nandaprabhañjanavarman. They have no metronymic like Śaktivarman, call themselves *putrabhaktas*, the phraseology of the plates is the same and therefore they might have belonged to the same dynasty. They do not call themselves Gangas or date their charters in any era. Nandaprabhañjanavarman<sup>2</sup> had his capital at Sārēpalle (near Vizianagaram)<sup>3</sup>. As his name indicates, he must have fought hard with Vākātaka expansion on the west, and the dynasty of Saktivarman on the south. The capital of Chandravarman,<sup>4</sup> and Umāvarman<sup>5</sup> was Simhapura, modern Singavarman near Chicacole. All the three were Mahārājas of Kalinga who must be dated sometime after Saktivarman and before Indra the Vishnukundin.

The last stray king we come across in the early history of Kalinga is Rāja Indra whose vassal Rāja Prithvimūla<sup>6</sup> (son of Prabhākara who ruled from Kandālī) has issued the Gōdāvarī plates. Indra Ādhirāja, son of Mitavarman, ruled from Manal-kudi<sup>7</sup> and was the great foe of Indrabhaṭṭāraka the Vishnukundin.

<sup>1</sup> Modern Rākaluva in Gañjam district *E I*, vol. xii, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *I A*, vol. xiii, p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> There is another in Parlakimedi Taluk.

<sup>4</sup> *E I*, vol. iv, p. 143.

<sup>5</sup> *E I*, vol. xii, p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> *J B B R A S*, vol. xvi, p. 114, *I A*, vol. x, p. 244.

<sup>7</sup> The name sounds Tamil.

according to the inscription While the Sālankayanas rarely bestirred themselves out of their kingdom, the Vishnukundins came into conflict with the kings of Kalinga in their coastal expansion It was during the spread of Vishnukundin sway along the Gōdāvarī that the dynasty of Pithāpuram was overthrown The expansion of the Vishnukundins took rapid strides under Indrabhattāraka who waged a fierce war with Indra of Kalinga <sup>1</sup> Though the victory is claimed by the Rāja of Kalinga, the Vishnukundin seems to have really won in the war For, his Rāmātirtham grant proves it very clearly The Vishnukundin-Kalinga hostilities continued till the next reign after Indrabhattāraka Harisēna Vākātaka, a contemporary of Indrabhattāraka, claims conquest of Āndhra and Kalinga thereby showing that he was overlord of the Deccan Harisēna's dynasty began to decline with his death After Indrabhattāraka, the Vishnukundins were on the path of decline

It was sometime about this epoch of Vākātaka-Vishnukundin decline that the Ganga dynasty was founded together with the Ganga era The Nadagām plates of Vajrahasta<sup>2</sup> represent the beginnings of Ganga rule as founded on the destruction of the sway of Bālāditya (ac 467 A D) But how far this late story may be believed we cannot say, as there is no record of Gupta rule in Kalinga <sup>3</sup> So also, the view that the Ganga era began sometime after Samudragupta's invasion is equally wrong as none of the fifth century Kalinga inscriptions is dated in an era and as neither Chandra nor Uma nor Nanda calls himself a Ganga And the earliest Ganga inscriptions dated in the Ganga era do not afford any scope for a fourth century datum for the beginning of the dynasty Therefore, the Ganga era was founded just after the decline of Vākātaka power in the Deccan and the Vishnukundin rule in Kalinga, i e., sometime after the year 27 of Indrabhattāraka, about the beginning of the sixth century A D

<sup>1</sup> Dr Fleet held that the Ādhirāja Indra (of Manalkudi) was the first or second Mahārāja Indravarman of the Ganga dynasty of Kalinganagara His foe was, according to him, Indrabhattāraka the Eastern Chālukya (666 A D) But, Dr Dubreuil on valid grounds identifies the latter with the Vishnukundin of the same name See *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol 1, pt 11, p 334

<sup>2</sup> *E I*, vol 1v, p 185

<sup>3</sup> Samudragupta also perhaps was called Bālāditya, p 347, V A Smith (1924)

There is no sure foundation for the view that the Gangas of Kalinga were descended from the Gangas of Mysore<sup>1</sup> There are two charters of the early Ganga kings one of the 80th year of Hastivarman *alias* Ranabhīta Rājasimha, Lord of Kalinga,<sup>2</sup> a *pitribhakta* and a devotee of Gōkarna and the other of India varman<sup>3</sup> *alias* Rājasimha, dated in the 87th year, a *pitribhakta*, devotee of Gokarna, an Ādhirāja and a great victor Both are styled as the founders of the family of the Gangas, though as a matter of fact, the family or the era of the family had been founded 80 years before Hastivarman's grant

Hastivarman issued his grant from Kalinganagara 'comfortable in all seasons' He acquired sovereignty over the whole country by wielding his sharp sword That Indravarman was the successor of Hastivarman is proved in two ways (1) the former dates his grant in the 87th year while the latter dates his in the 80th year, (2) the two edicts were written by the same Vinayachandra, son of Bhānuchandra The boast of Hastivarman and Indravarman of founding the Gangas may mean only the

<sup>1</sup> Rice *Mysore and Coorg*, p 30 The Gangas were so called after the river The *Gangaridae Calingae* of Pliny may contain a clue to the early habitat of the Gangas In some inscriptions they call themselves Yādavas and in some Ikshvākus *IA*, vol xviii, p 165, *EC* inscriptions from Humcha, Purala and Kallur Gudda

<sup>2</sup> *Pravardhamana Vijaya Rajya Samvatsvara* in earlier Kalinga inscriptions on which Mr Rāmadās relies for dating the Ganga era about 350 A D is found in the Pedda Vēgi C P of the Śālanakāyanas See *J B O R S*, vol ix, p 393, for his article on the Ganga era See *E I*, vol xvii, p 330, for Hastivarman's inscription The view of Mr Subba Rao, R, of Rajahmundry, (*Q J A H R S*, vol ii, p 146), that the Ganga era began about 450 A D is equally untenable According to his view Indravarman of Achyutapuram and other plates has to be assigned to about 540 A D He was the Ādhirāja Indra contemporary of the Vishnukundin Indra Bhattāraka But, the Vishnukundins were still very powerful even over parts of Kalinga And Yasodharman of Malwa claims conquest up to Mahendra in about 528 A D Secondly, if Indravarman was the same as Indra of Prithvimula's plates then Indravarman successor and (perhaps son also) of Hastivarman of Kalinganagara must be put as the son of Mitavarman of Manalkudi which is an absurd proposition It is clear then that the Vishnukundin Indra must have fought with some other Indra of Kalinga, a predecessor of the great Indravarman Perhaps he it was that founded the era after Indra the Vishnukundin's death It is possible that Indra the founder of the era was the same as the donor of the Jirjingi plates *Q J A H R S*, iii, p 49 Some time after him came Hastivarman and his successor Indravarman,

<sup>3</sup> *E I*, vol iii, p 127

strengthening of the foundations already laid. The great enemy of Hastivarman and Indravarman was the eastern Chālukya on the southern frontier. Within fifty years after the rise of the Gangas, the whole Deccan was shaken by the tempest of Chalukyan invasion. Kalinga escaped being annexed but struggled continuously for independence with Konyodha under Harshavardhana (a strong military outpost on one side) and with the eastern Chalukyas of Vēṅgi on the other. Speaking of Konyodha which extended from the hills of the coast Hiuen-Tsang remarks that its towns were strong, there was a gallant army which kept the neighbouring countries in awe and there was no powerful enemy. Hiuen Tsang's life mentions the expedition of Harsha to Konyodha which might have been the south eastern military outpost of Harsha's empire. Pulakēśin apparently could not dislodge him from it though he claimed victory over Kalinga and Kōśala.

Indravarman was also donor of the Tekkalī (87 year) and Paṭlākīmedī plates.<sup>1</sup> By the power of his sword he acquired Ādhirājya and established the Gangas. In other words, he and his predecessor also must have given a decisive set back to the advance of the Eastern Chālukyas who seem to have expanded at first as far as Chipurpalle. The wars which the Gangas had to wage decimated the population of Kalinga besides natural calamities to such an extent that Hiuen-Tsang was sadly impressed with it. The frontier of Harshavardhana on the coast did not extend south of Northern Gaṇjam district, due to the mighty efforts of the Gangas of Kalinga. Rising with the Chālukyas, the Eastern Gangas continued to rule for more than 500 years eternally warring with their southern and northern neighbours. During the long rule of these devotees of Gokarnēśvara, Brahminical religion was rehabilitated and re established and Buddhism and Jainism became past memories.

<sup>1</sup> *IA*, vol. xvi, p. 131—91 Yr. written by Vinayachandra, son of Bhanu chandra. There is another Indravarman, perhaps the grandson of the donor of the above three plates. The former has issued the Chicacole Grant in the year 128 and from the inscription we may learn that he was not so great as his grandfather. The Chicacole plates were written by Āditya son of Vinayachandra.

## CHAPTER XII

### THE EXPANSION OF THE CHĀLUKYAS

THE curtain drops with the entrance of the Chalukyas into Āndhra. No power since the Śātavāhanas had held sway from sea to sea as the Chālukyas in the seventh century A D. Āndhra had been dismembered by the Ikshvākus and the Pallavas, the former giving way to the Salankāyanas and the Vishnukundins in turn. The Kadambas had many a side thrust in Āndhra along the coast and expanded into Āndhra west of the Ghats till they were pushed back by the Vākātakas. The Vākātakas once held a part of Āndhra through their vassals the Vishnukundins. But, more enduring than Pallava and Vākātaka rule was the Chālukyan. The beginning of Telugu literature which, in course of time, was bound to integrate all the diverse factors and give a unity to Āndhra can be distinctly traced in the Chālukyan period. Some of their earliest grants refer to Brahmins well versed in all ancient books and to a *ghaṭika* or college of learning at Asanapura<sup>1</sup>. The cultural contact between Karnāṭa and Maharāshtra on the one hand and Andhra on the other snapped asunder after the Śātavāhana rule was restored under the aegis of the Chalukyas of Bādāmi who rose to be the unquestioned masters of the Deccan. The swelling tide of Brahminism and Purāṇic Hinduism rolled over the land under the aegis of the Chālukyan monarchs. Kumārila paved the way for the triumphant progress of Śankara. The usual story is told of this terror of Buddhism and Jainism, a son of Kalinga, how he was once a Buddhist, then converted with himself the king of the land and aided the persecution of the unvedic religions. This late story in Mādhava's *Śankara Vijaya* may not be wholly credible, but it is sufficient to establish that the un-Brahminical religions had already lost support and fallen on evil days<sup>2</sup>. The acme of political greatness was reached when the ancient home

<sup>1</sup> Chipurpalle C P and a grant of Jayasimha I, *M E R* 1917, p 115, *E I*, vol xviii, p 55

<sup>2</sup> *J B B R A S*, vol xviii

of the Pallava in Nellore and Guntūr districts was usurped and when hard blows were dealt to the rising Gangas on the other side of Chipurpalle

### Origin

Much credence need not be given to the northern origin of the Chālukyas<sup>1</sup> Some scholars see in the Chālukyas the Tamil Vēlir<sup>2</sup> a chief of which was Āy Āndiran of Podiyal The Chālukyan metronymic Hārītiputra reminds us of the Kadambas and the Śātavāhanas The Chālukyas and the Kadambas not only belong to the same Mānavya gōtra but also claim to have been nourished by the 'seven mothers' The name Chālukya has no proper Sanskrit root, the story of the Chālukyan origin from *Chuluka* being of a later origin<sup>3</sup> The 'Chalukī' in the Nāgārjunakonda inscriptions of the third century A D shifts back the age of the Chālukyas in the Deccan to a period far anterior to that of their supposed migration from the north Again, there is a reference by Ptolemy to a tribe the *Salakenoi* not far from *Maisolia* which may afford a clue to the existence of the Chālukyas (also called Salukki, Chalukī, etc) in the Deccan from still earlier times

### History

The Chālukyas get into prominence under Pulakēsin I (550 A D) an aśvamēdhin His capital was Vātapī or Bādāmī in the Bijapur district He must have raised the fabric of his power over the destruction of the Kadambas who ruled from Hālsī His two sons Kīrtivarman and Mangalēsa spread the sway of the dynasty The Mahākūta inscription<sup>4</sup> credits him with victories in Vanga and Anga, Kalinga, Mūshaka, Pāndya, Dramila, Āluka, Vaijayanti, etc According to the Aihōle inscription<sup>5</sup> (634 A D) he was 'a night of death' to the Nalas, the Mauryas (of Konkan) and the Kadambas The upshot of the *prasaṣti* is clear Kīrtivarman was a great conqueror and drove out the old dynasties, ushering in the new supremacy Mangalēsa

<sup>1</sup> Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, pp 61-3 *IA*, vol III, p 305, vol VI, p 363, vol X, p 58, *JBRS*, vol X, p 348

<sup>2</sup> M Raghava Iyengar *Velir Varalaru* (Tamil)

<sup>3</sup> Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, pp 15, 23, 61-4

<sup>4</sup> *IA*, vol XIX, pp 7-15 Āndhra is not in the list

*E I*, vol VI, p 1



(ac 597 A D) proved a worthy successor to Kīrtivarman I, as he added to his conquests by the defeat of the Kalachūris. When he resolved to usurp the kingdom for his own son and thus keep out Pulakēśin the son of his brother Kīrtivarman, he lost both his kingdom and his life to his illustrious nephew.

Pulakēśin II ascended the throne in 609 A D, began a career of expansion, and was cut off in full meridian of glory by death at the hands of his deadliest foe, the Pallava. Even then, he could boast of the lordship over the Deccan limited by the Vindhya (beyond which he repulsed Harshavardhana<sup>1</sup>) and by the Pallava to the South whom he vanquished and kept at bay many a time. The Kadambas and Gangas were routed. Mahārāshtra and Lāta bowed to the inevitable. Kalinga and Kosala were defeated.<sup>2</sup> Pithāpuram tossed between the Vishnukundins and the Rājas of Kalinga was captured. A terrible fight took place on the Kollēru, very near the seat of Āndhra power. The Pallava hid himself behind the walls of Kāñchi laying his home dominion at the feet of the conquering hero.<sup>3</sup> There are no grounds for assuming that the Pallava was the ruler of the Krishna Gōdāvari doab though it is just possible, as already stated, that the Sāṅkāyanas and their successors the Vishnukundins were affiliated to the Pallava group of kings.

<sup>1</sup> One of the poems of Mayura credits Harsha with the conquest of the south, p. 234. The Poems of Mayura by Quackenbos (Columbia Univ. vol. 1x). This fact is apparently confirmed by an epigraph in Mysore which has 'when Siladitya came conquering and Mahendra fled in fear'. See p. 83, Mysore Arch. Rep. 1923, *J R A S* 1926. Hiuen Tsang says that only Mahārāshtra was not conquered by Harsha. So it is possible that Harsha led an expedition into the south imitating Samudragupta and the Great Mauryas but met with a fate different from theirs. In continuation of the policy of expelling Harsha, Pulakēśin must have conquered and strengthened his weak frontiers especially in Kalinga in the east where Harsha seems to have had a strong military outpost.

<sup>2</sup> They are said to have 'effected the humbling of the pride of other kings' in the Aihole inscription. The same record has it that Pulakēśin 'dismissed the subjugated Kings with honor' which resembles the phrase 'captured and liberated' of Samudragupta's inscription but is not true as the Koppāram plates of Pulakēśin II (611 A D) in Gunṭūr district testify unless it is assumed that Āndhra had been conquered before Pulakēśin II which is not possible as Āndhra does not figure in Kīrtivarman's list of conquests.

<sup>3</sup> *M, E R* 1909, p. 75—Mahendra's Telugu birudas.

In 609 or 610 A D<sup>1</sup> Kubja Vishnuvardhana, the brother of Pulakēśin II, was made viceroy of the Telugu country along the coast<sup>2</sup> His first capital was perhaps Pithapuram from which he dates his Chivurpalle grant<sup>3</sup> His Chipurpalle copper plates<sup>4</sup> prove the extension of his power as far as that place, while the mention of Vishnamasiddhi in an inscription at Chējūli;<sup>5</sup> and of places in the Guntūr district in a grant of Jayasimha I<sup>6</sup> raises the presumption that the Eastern Chālukyan rule extended over the Guntur district Later inscriptions speak of Kubja Vishnuvardhana's kingdom as Vēngi The independent dynasty founded by this prince in or about 618 A D flourished for more than four and a half centuries till it merged into the Chōla during which long epoch Āndhra came to her own and took rapid strides in cultural advancement Bharavi,<sup>7</sup> a great Saiva

<sup>1</sup> The date for the beginning of Vishnuvardhana's rule has been calculated from the data supplied by the Eastern and Western Chālukyan inscriptions See Fleet I 4, vol xx, 1 ff

<sup>2</sup> The Koppāraṇ plates of Pulakēśin II in Guntūr district in 611 A D clearly prove that Chālukyan rule was well established in Āndhra by the date while Dr Fleet stated that Chālukyan rule was established before 612 A D Dr V A Smith went further and fixed it in 609 A D or so From his Sūtra C P it may be learnt that Kubja was Yuvaraja till 618 A D the date of that grant The duration of the reigns of the E Chālukyan kings is given in their charters and in some of them the saka date is given To take one instance Amma II (I A, vols xix, p 102, xx, p 23) ascended the throne in 868 saka and roughly 338 years had passed since the accession of Kubja So Kubja became ruler in about 608 or 609 A D A copperplate of Pulakēśin II dated 535 saka refers to his victories over hostile Kings (I A, vol vi, p 72)

<sup>3</sup> According to Hsien Tsang Pingchilo was the capital of Āndhra which has been generally identified with Vēngi Later Eastern Chālukyan inscriptions refer to Vishnuvardhana as of Vēngi Dandin locates the Āndhra capital somewhere there

<sup>4</sup> I A, vol xx, pp 3, 15 see also E I, vol iv, p 317, for Timmapuram C P in early Eastern Chālukyan inscription (from Sarvasiddhi taluk, Virāgapuram district, which mentions Pithapuram as capital M E R 1908, p 60) I A, vol xx, p 97, for Jayasimha I's kingdom extending to Udaya Pura, Nellore district The separate mention of Pithapuram in the Aihole inscription and references to it as a capital city elsewhere show that there was a separate kingdom between the Gōdāvarī and Kalinga proper

<sup>5</sup> M E R 1917, S I I, vol vi 154/2 of 1899

<sup>6</sup> P I, vol xviii, p 55, and the Koppuram C P of Pulakēśin II in A B O R I, Poona, vol iv, part i

<sup>7</sup> Avantisundarikāvya, See Q I M S, vol xii, p 10, and summary of papers of the Fourth Orient Conference, p 41

and author of *Kirātārjunīya*, was patronised by Vishnuvardhana. The rich and fertile soil and abundant crops of the Āndhra country noticed by Hiuen-Tsang supported a large population and maintained a flourishing commerce. A keen observer as he was, the pilgrim notes the emotional nature of the inhabitants and their love for arts which have earned for the Āndhra a niche in the temple of Indian History and have survived to this day.

The genealogy of the early Chālukya rulers is gathered from their inscriptions and from some of the inscriptions of the Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgi. An approximate chronology may be worked out from them.

### *In 611 A D*

We may thus sum up the political situation of the Deccan in 611 A D. The Chālukyas were the only big power in the Deccan occupying it from sea to sea and between the Vindhya and the Tungabhadra with an uncertain border on the Pallava side. The independence of the Gangas of Kalinga was ever threatened by the Eastern Chālukyas whose martial enthusiasm could only be quenched by the proverbial '108 battles with the Ganga and the Rāṭṭa'. But the Gangas could not be shaken out of their kingdom. The Chālukyas had already overthrown the Kadambas and the Gangas of Mysore in the reign of Pulakēśin I from their base and capital Bādami. The Kadamba power which held its enemies at bay for wellnigh two centuries and boasted of imperial marriage alliances had spent itself out. The Gangas of Mysore, hedged in between the expanding Kadambas and the ambitious Pallavas had to consent to be crowned by their Pallava masters and submit their crowns to the rising Chālukyan power. The Vakātakas once expanding as far as Ajanta and absorbing parts of Kuntāla withdrew into their mountain fastness after leaving some of the finest memorials of art and are heard of no more. Their protégé and feudatory, the Vishnukundins cured for a time of their refractoriness by the hard blows of Harisēna, pushed out of their northern extension by the sturdy and puzzling Gangas and kept within narrow limits by the Pallavas, assumed the title of Mahārāja, only to lose it in the surging wave of the new supremacy.

The *digvijaya* of Pulakēśin II, so beautifully described by Ravikīrti, was but the culmination of the efforts of his predecessors. In the whole of the Deccan and South India, only two

powers were left, the Pallava and the Chālukya, even the Empire of the former being overrun by the latter. The old big dynasties had become small and the ancient obscure houses obscure. We no longer hear for two centuries of the independent Tamil kingdoms except as vassals among whom the Pāṇḍya played his partington to the ocean of Pallava fame. We read hereafter of the Gangas and the Kadambas only by the side of the Chālukyas bearing their arms in war and distributing their charities in peace. The Āndhras and Andhra bhūtyas had become historic dynasties, the Vākātakas and the Vishnukundins moribund.

According to legend, the Chālukya rose into prominence at the expense of the Pallava. The glory of the two 'natural enemies' would not have shed so much lustre without the shedding of blood. In fact, the Pallava-Chālukya rivalry was a priceless legacy from Mukkanti Kāduveti whose traditional fight with the invading Vijayāditya for his hearth and home in the modern Ceded Districts ran in the blood of his descendants. But, neither could subdue the other completely though each carried the war into the heart of the other's capital. And both were exhausted by about the middle of the eighth century, the Chālukya falling a prey to the Rāshtrakutas and the Pallava being worn out by the incessant conflicts and machinations of the Pāṇḍyas.

## CHAPTER XIII

### ĀNDHRA CULTURE ABROAD

#### *Rivers and Coastline*

THE history of the commercial and colonial activities of the Āndhras reads like a romance. With an extensive sea-board stretching from Kalingapatnam to Pulicat, Andhradēsa had convenient and profitable facilities for adventure and foreign commerce. Communication by sea was easier in those days when the land, specially north of the Gōdāvarī, was not yet denuded of forests and when heavy goods could be carried with less facility along the few good roads than by sea.

The Vamsadhārā, the Gōdāvarī, the Kṛishna and the Pinākini (N Pennār) offered safe anchorage for the vessels of those days and were navigable up to a certain point. The two bigger rivers served as highways of commercial and passenger traffic throughout the Āndhra Empire. In the age of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (about 80 A D) and the *Geography* of Ptolemy (about 140 A D), ships are said to have sailed eastward from the mouths of the Kṛishna and the Gōdāvarī.<sup>1</sup> Pliny (about 80 A D) remarks that ships assembled near the mouth of the Gōdāvarī and then sailed up to the places on the Ganges.

Endowed with these arteries of communication, the Āndhras ventured early enough into the wider and more stormy regions of the salty deep. The people living along the coast and on the banks of the big rivers accustomed to navigation from childhood and bred up as fishermen to eke out their livelihood took risks in their distant fishing voyages, when storms, a common enemy of mariners but the best ally of discoverers, would land them at times in strange countries. Sometimes thus by chance and sometimes by design, actuated by love to brave the perils or by curiosity to see strange lands or by the desire to reach *El Dorado*, the stout hearts of old constantly put out to sea to discover new lands and opened the way to foreign commerce.

<sup>1</sup> Schoff *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, p. 46  
Gerini *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography*, p. 743



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# INDIAN OCEAN

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Colonization followed commerce and culture flowed in the wake of colonization. Added to this native enthusiasm was the stimulus of western traders who swarmed the coast of India for sharing in her valuable trade and of the enterprising *yavanas* and others<sup>1</sup> who seem to have advanced by land as far as Āndhra and influenced her economic and cultural history. According to Col Gerini, there were Dravidian colonists in Burma as early as the seventh century B C. The earliest traditions in Greater India connect the beginnings of its civilisation with the Gōdāvari-Krishna deltas. Two kinds of vessels were noted by the author of the *periplus*, one for coasting, and the other for overseas, voyages, the latter being naturally bigger and stronger.

The rivers of Āndhra, while facilitating internal and external communication, have also fertilised the land by bringing rich deposits of alluvium from the hills and by raising the level of the plains and rendering them thereby fit for cultivation. For, before exchange could begin, there must be goods to be exchanged. The products of the forests, the fields, the looms and the mines which formed the chief items of merchandise from Āndhra required a large measure of civilisation for their manufacture.<sup>2</sup>

### *Āndhra commerce ancient*

The inscriptions of Bhattiprōlu point to the high level of economic progress reached by Āndhra.<sup>3</sup> Āndhra was famous for its weaving according to the *Bhīmasēna Jataka*.<sup>4</sup> The *Periplus* refers to the huge stores of ordinary cottons, many sorts of muslins and mallow colored cottons in the markets of Tagara and Paithan whither they were carried by boats, carts or pack bullocks from Maisolos (the present Krishna and Gōdāvari districts).<sup>5</sup> The land traffic grew in volume after the establishment of the Śātavāhana Empire as the goods destined to the

<sup>1</sup> The Śakas, Pahlavas and Yavanas seem to have crossed the high seas from the mainland and planted their rule in Further India. For Dravidian Colonists of Burma, see Gerini, pp. 29-33.

<sup>2</sup> For the mines of Āndhra see Sewell. Lists of Antiquities in the Madras Presidency (Madras, 1882), vol. 1, p. 45, 63 f n. *Krishna District Manual*, pp. 169, 202, 222, 247. The diamond mines of Pārtiyāla, the copper mines of Vinukonda, the lead mines of Palnād, the marble quarries of Palnād and Sattenpalle were worked in early times.

<sup>3</sup> See the Chapter on the monuments of Āndhra.

<sup>4</sup> Cowell Trans.

<sup>5</sup> Schoff, pp. 51, 62.



western countries were despatched more safely, cheaply and speedily across the Deccan than by the distant sea route doubling Cape Comorin. And goods intended for Ujjain and further caravan trade were also sent to Paithan which occupied a position of commercial as well as strategic vantage. Masūlipatnam and Sopatma not far from it<sup>1</sup> are the only two Andhra ports mentioned by the *Periplus*, if we leave out Podouke which only Lassen and Yule have identified with Pulicat.

Ptolemy is more informing about the economic history of Āndhra. The mouth of the Pinākini, Manarpha,<sup>2</sup> Kottis,<sup>3</sup> the mouth of the Kṛishna,<sup>4</sup> Konta Kossyla,<sup>5</sup> Koddura,<sup>6</sup> Allosgyne<sup>7</sup> the point of departure for Chryse are some of the ports and marts mentioned by the Greek. A large number of inland cities are also mentioned by him which have not been properly identified. The trade from the banks of the Ganges passed along the Āndhra coast to the far-off Tamil Nāḍu whose extensive commerce can be gauged from the *Pattinappālai*<sup>8</sup> and other poems. Into the ports of Podouke, Melange<sup>9</sup> and Sopatma flowed all the goods from Egypt and the farther west for distribution to the eastern countries. The spices, sandal and pearls of the south, the *aghi*<sup>1</sup> and gold of Takola (in Malaya) and Kalaha (Sumatra), the coral of the eastern seas, and the camphor, silk and other products of China were familiar in the markets of Āndhradēsa, as Ptolemy's book proves that there was extensive commercial relationship with these countries.

The discovery of Roman Coins in Vinukonda, Nellore and Cuddappah (chiefly cotton areas<sup>10</sup>) and the evidence of a recently discovered inscription of the third century A D at Nāgārjunakonda clinch the argument that Āndhradesa was well-known

<sup>1</sup> Somewhere about the mouth of the Swarnarēka or where Pedda Gañjam stands to day. See pp 66-7, M'Crindle. Ptolemy edited by Majumdar.

<sup>2</sup> At the mouth of the Manneru in Nellore district.

<sup>3</sup> Probably Allūr Kōttapatnam in Guntūr district.

<sup>4</sup> The Kṛishna is called the Masolos by him.

<sup>5</sup> Ghantasāl near Masulipatnam.

<sup>6</sup> Kūdūru near Masulipatnam.

<sup>7</sup> Point Gōlāvan.

<sup>8</sup> *The Pattinappāttu* ed by Mah V Swaminathayyer (Tamil).

<sup>9</sup> Melange has been severally identified with Mahābalipur, Krishnapatnam and Bandar Malanga.

<sup>10</sup> *J R.A.S.*, 1904, p 599.

from China to Rome. On such a broad commercial basis must have been reared the glorious colonial and cultural structure of Greater Āndhra. Among the numerous places mentioned by Ptolemy in Further India, two deserve special attention—Tilinga capital of Arakan<sup>1</sup> and Kakula in the Gulf of Siam which might have been so named after the places in the mother country by loyal colonials. Panduranga, Amalivati, Vijaya and Kauthara (Kottura), Takola (near Rangoon), Ligor (lit. city) and Simhapura (Singapore), Kalinga and Bhōga (or Bhoja) are some other names<sup>2</sup> which may serve, at any rate, to confirm our hypothesis that the culture of Further India had its main source in Āndhra-Kalinga. The ship coins of Yajña Sri and the Pallavas have a peculiar significance as vestiges of a lost chapter of Āndhra's maritime greatness and the small village of China at the mouth of the Krishna, bearing an inscription of Yajña Sri from the second century A.D., must have silently witnessed for centuries the flow of the Andhra culture into the wide ocean of strange and distant realms. Āndhra like Ancient Greece looked to the east where tradition has located the 'golden' Burma and Sumatra, 'silver' Arakan and 'copper' Champa (Indo-China)<sup>3</sup>.

The decline in trade with the Roman Empire, the disintegration of the Śātavahana dominion and perhaps a severe periodic storm ruining some of the ports<sup>4</sup> at about the commencement of the dark age of the *Paurāṇika* must have adversely affected the golden age of Āndhra economic history. But a temporary eclipse should not be mistaken as a permanent catastrophe. The Ikshvākus maintained and added to the Śātavāhana traditions. The Pallavas who were originally of the Andhra country—none

<sup>1</sup> Gerini pp. 29-33.

<sup>2</sup> Bhōga (Palembang) was also known as Andhala, see Gerini, pp. 611-12. Gerini assumes some relationship between Mōtuppalle (Krishna district) and Pentapolis between the Brihmaputra and Arakan (see p. 35) and between Bilongki in Malaya and Milangri (see p. 113).

<sup>3</sup> M'Cindile. Ptolemy's Geography, edited by Majumdar (Calcutta, 1927).

For Sumatra see Itsing's observations. Ava is still called Golden frontier. The Rangoon mouth is still called Golden river.

<sup>4</sup> There are traditions and other indications to that effect at several places like Pavitra in *Kadallonda* Kākandimīdu (Gudur tk.), Kanuparti, Piddigūm and Muslipatnam.

The disintegration of the Śātavāhana empire and the invasions of the foreign hordes might have contributed to emigration to some extent.

disputes the point—continued to plough the deep seas and sow the seeds of their culture far and wide. Eminent savants like Burnell and Vogel would fain affiliate the dynasties of the South Sea islands with the Pallavas of the mainland. In fact, the intercourse begun in misty antiquity was kept up as late as the eleventh century A D, for, the coins of Śaktivarman and Rājaraja II of the Eastern Chālukyan dynasty have been found in Arakan and Siam.<sup>1</sup>

### *Burma*

The names Kalinga (for the coast of Pegu) and Utkala (to the north west of it) given for two parts of Burma<sup>2</sup> after their Indian prototypes well justify the title 'Lord of the Sea' given to the Kalinga king by the poet Kālidāsa.<sup>3</sup> Phayle quotes traditions that Indians from the mouths of the Krishna and the Gōdāvari settled in Pegu.<sup>4</sup> He would connect the *Tailangs* of Burma with Telīngāna, as Ptolemy's Trilingon or Triglypton would suggest a similar derivation for the name of the settlers. 'Intercourse with the east coast of India may be assumed as natural, and is confirmed by the presence of Sanskrit words in Old Talaing and the information about Southern India in Talaing records. Analogies have also been traced between the architecture of Pagan and Southern India. The earliest Talaing alphabet is identical with the Vēngī alphabet of the fourth century A D'.<sup>5</sup>

There is an inscription of the first century A D in South Indian alphabet in Prome district.<sup>6</sup> A very valuable discovery<sup>7</sup> in the 'land of gold and teak' is reported of a stūpa of the sixth or seventh century A D. This find throws fresh light on the nature of the inter-relations between Burma and Eastern Deccan. In old Prome was found a stūpa with a relic chamber 'a veritable

<sup>1</sup> *I A*, vol xix, p 79 Burnell *South Indian Paleogeography* Vogel *Inscriptions of Mūlavarman*

<sup>2</sup> Gerini

<sup>3</sup> *Raghuvamśa* vol vi, p 57

<sup>4</sup> Phayle, *History of Burma*, p 24

<sup>5</sup> Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism* (London, 1921), vol iii, p 51

<sup>6</sup> *E I*, vol v, p 101

<sup>7</sup> *The Times of India* (Weekly Illustrated), Bombay, April 8, 1928, p 16  
See also Hackman *Buddhism as a Religion*, p 63 and Bode *The Pāli Literature from Burma*, p 8

wonder-house of archæological treasures. Round the top of the stūpa is an inscription in mixed *pyu* and pali in a script closely related to Kannada Telugu script of South India'. A manuscript of twenty thin gold leaves with short extracts in pali of the Dharma in an early South Indian script of the same type as above, gold and silver images of the Buddha, a number of inscribed silver and gold finger-rings, ear ornaments, *miniature* boats, terra-cotta reliefs, coins of various value, beads, precious stones—speak volumes of the source whence Burmese religion and culture were imported. After the mission of Asoka, every boat from Āndhradēsa (which to-day can boast of the most extensive Buddhist remains) must have carried the Gospel of the Enlightened One. It is a fact, however, that Buddhaghosa began the revival in Burma and supplied her with the scriptures he assiduously worked at in Ceylon, Burma in due course passing them on to Siam<sup>1</sup>. As Buddhaghosa speaks of Āndhra and of the Gōdāvarī with familiarity and mentions two kingdoms on her banks, it may be assumed that he resided for a time in the sacred land<sup>2</sup>. As Rhys Davids would make Dharmapāla and Buddhaghosa university mates and as Dharmapāla is said to have absconded from a festive home and lived sometime in a *mountain* monastery,<sup>3</sup> it is likely that the future savants studied together for a while in Āndhra.

A far-reaching suggestion has been recently made that the Śālikāyanas of Vēngī (Kāishna Dt.) were responsible for the introduction of Buddhism into Burma. 'The *Sasanālamkāra* makes Buddhadatta and Buddhaghosa co-contemporaries of the *Talaing* king San Lan Krom who ruled in modern Pagan. This San Lan Krom was in all probability a member of the Śālikāyana dynasty of kings noted for their naval power and maritime commerce. It is also noteworthy that this same San Lan Krom is credited with the introduction of Buddhism into Burma'. Again, 'Buddhadatta was invited by the Kings of Vēngī whose patronage had set the Buddhist school at Kāñchi on a sound basis. It is not unlikely that Buddhadatta was consulted, if not actually deputed, in connection with introducing Buddhism

<sup>1</sup> Gray, *Buddhaghosauppatti*, p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> B. C. Law, *Buddhaghosha* (Calcutta), *J R A S* 1923, p. 269.

<sup>3</sup> *Ency. of Religion and Ethics*, vol. iv, p. 701, Beal, *Life of Hsüen Tsang*, pp. 138-9.

into Burma where the kings of Vēngī, the Sālankāyanas had made more or less permanent settlements '<sup>1</sup>

Curiously enough, in the post Sātavāhana period we know only the Ikshvākus, Dāmodara of the Anandagotra, and a stray Sīmhavarman Pallava as patrons of Buddhism. Curiously enough, we know of the Sālankāyanas only as devotees of Śiva, Sūrya and Viṣṇu. About Buddhadatta's relation with Āndhradēsa or Burma, little is known as the scholar refers only to the Tamiḷ country.

### *Malay Peninsula*

Throughout Further India, all immigrants from the coast of the *Coromandel* were called *Klings* probably because the earliest and the most familiar colonists went from Kalinga which was vaguely used to denote the country extending from the Mahanadi to the Gōdāvarī. The Malay Peninsula was known as golden Chersonese and parts of it were from time to time included politically under Burma, Java and Siam. According to tradition, Ligor on the east coast was founded by a descendant of Asōka,<sup>2</sup> Prince Dantakumāra of Dantapura who was wrecked on the Malay coast.<sup>3</sup> In the Hindu art of Ligor may be traced the influence of the art of Ellora and Mahābalapuram in 'the accentuation of the limbs and charm of rhythmical movement'.<sup>4</sup> In Ligor and Wellesley are found inscriptions of the fourth century A D proving that Buddhism was already well established on the coast. Takola on the west coast was the medium of communication between the mainland and Indo China where another seed of Indian civilisation had been planted in the dim past. The bronzes of Sawan Kolak (*Swargaloka*)<sup>5</sup> with their 'ovoid form, boldly modelled locks, eyebrows like raised crescents, hooked nose and smiling mouth' have their Indian prototype in the images of Buddhani in Guntūr district.<sup>6</sup> The images of Buddhāni and Amāīvatī represent the same school of art combining

<sup>1</sup> J O R (Madras), vol. II, part II, pp. 112-14.

<sup>2</sup> There is an Asoka among the earliest ancestors of the Pallavas, see the Vāyalur Ins.

<sup>3</sup> Gerini, pp. 107-8, p. 109.

<sup>4</sup> Salmony. Sculpture in Siam, pp. 5 and 14.

<sup>5</sup> Gerini, p. 178.

<sup>6</sup> J R A S 1895, pp. 617-37 by Sewell.

in itself the best of the native and foreign styles and the marble and metallic Buddhas of Āndhra were in great demand in distant countries following the *Dharma*

### *Indo-China*

Thanks to the French savants, much is known of the cultural affinities of Indo-China which is loosely used to denote a number of kingdoms which rose and fell in succession. The kingdom of Champa was founded evidently by colonists from India as early as the second century A D. It comprised what is now called Annam and included the provinces of Amarāvati, Vijaya, Kauthara and Panduranga. The Vocan stone inscription<sup>1</sup> of about the third century A D traces the ruling dynasty to a certain Śrī Mīra. The epigraph is of unusual interest as it is in Sanskrit in the same script as the Gūnār inscription of Rudradāman and the Kanhērī inscription of Vasīṣṭiputra Śātakarni. The script must have travelled *via* Āndhra-Kālinga to Indo-China. More noteworthy is the evolution of the Indo-Chinese script *prīṣṭa* with that of the Deccan script which could not have happened but for close intercourse with the Deccan. The Vocan epigraph has been considered Buddhist though there is little evidence of the prevalence of the religion till long after King Bhadravarman I 'learned in the four Vēdas' calls himself Dharmā Mahārāja<sup>2</sup> like some of the Pallavas (400 A D) and scholars are not wanting who trace all the dynasties of Further India which have royal names ending in *varman* to the Pallava stock.

Funan was west of Champa and at the height of its power comprised Cochín China, Cambodia, Siam and parts of Malaya. The kingdom of Funan dates back to the first century A D when Kaundinya, a Brahmin from India, is said to have Hinduised the country, married a nāga princess and founded a dynasty. The inscription of 658 A D<sup>3</sup> continues to say that he planted the javelin received from Asvathamān, son of Drona.

<sup>1</sup> Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East, vol. 1, Champa, by Dr R. C. Majumdar (Lahore, 1927) Book III, p. 1. For full references see Eliot chap. III, pp. 100 and 137.

<sup>2</sup> Dr Majumdar, p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> Dr Majumdar Book III, p. 16—Myson Stelae Ins. of Prakasadharmā d. 579 Saka.

The story bears a family resemblance to that of the Pallava who obtained a kingdom by a nāga marriage, who was descended from Asvathāman and a nāgi and who belonged to the Bhāradvāja gōtra. There was constant intercourse with the mainland as Chandravarman sent an embassy to India (250 A D) and as in the next century another Kaundinya arrived from India in Funan and reformed the people. Chandravarman, Dēvavarman and Jayavarman of Indo China<sup>1</sup> remarkably enough, have their namesakes in the dynasties of Vēngi while Indravarman, so largely figuring in the history of Champa, is a familiar name among the Ganga Kings of Kalinga. Buddhist embassies were despatched to China by the kings of Funan from time to time.

About the sixth century A D the vassal state, Kamboja (Cambodia) began to assert itself and soon destroyed the power of Funan. Bhavavarman's inscription is said to be like that of Mangalēsa of the Western Chālukyan family (end of the sixth century A D)<sup>2</sup>. Buddhism of the Mahāyāna form was popular in Kamboja. Siam (Sukho dayā) was first under Cambodia and became independent about the thirteenth century A D.

All the inscriptions of Indo China are in Sanskrit and the script is Chālukyan or Deccani. In the later inscriptions after the sixth century, the Saka era is used. As the era was popular only in the Deccan, it must have crossed to Indo-China from that country. Though the era is not used by the dynasties of the East Coast till very late, it has been rightly conjectured that Indo-Chinese civilisation had its source in the lower valleys of the Mahānadī, the Godāvari and the Kṛishna and her ruling families were related to those of the same regions. Emigrants to Indo-China from Western Deccan, it must be remembered, generally cut across the country and embarked from the Āndhra Coast. The close correspondence between the Eastern Chālukyan script of Āndhradēsa and the script of Indo China bespeaks the continuous influence of the one on the other.

As early as the fourth century A D there was an elaborate system of worship of the Hindu deities in Indo China. This, together with the custom of deification of kings, queens and

<sup>1</sup> Dr Majumdar pp 32-3

<sup>2</sup> The Hindu Colony of Cambodia by Prof R N Bose (Madras, 1927), p 78. Elliot vol III, p 106 and fn 4. Dubreuil's A H, of the Deccan, p 85.

other great personages, was Dravidian, perhaps largely Tamil in origin. The bronze image of the Buddha as a *Guru* showing unmistakable Greek influence in dress is of the same type as the images discovered in Amarāvati and was undoubtedly imported from that region.<sup>1</sup>

The architecture of Indo China owes much to the Pallava style the best representatives of which are found at Mahabalipuram. The styles of the pagodas are mostly an evolution from the pre-existing Buddhist forms of architecture found in plenty in Āndhra. In the words of Dr R. C. Majumdar, 'the characteristic feature of a Cham temple with its storeyed roofs of several stages is derived from the Dravidian style which made its appearance in India as early as the seventh century A.D. in the Māmallapuram *vathas* and the temples of Kañchi and Bādāmi.'<sup>2</sup> Even in the intricate floral designs and in the lotus and *makara* motifs in sculpture, the influence of the mainland is traceable,

### Ceylon

There are some Buddhist stories connecting Āndhra and Ceylon like those relating to the relics of Rāmagrāma and to the tooth-relic of Dantapura. Duttagāmini obtained some relics from Āndhra which he enshrined with great pomp. The assembly that he held on the occasion was attended by Mahādōva and by thousands of monks from Pallavabogga which may be identified with Palnad in Andhra. With the relics must have travelled to Ceylon the art of Āndhra as the ancient *dāgaba*s of the island were in the Āndhra style.<sup>3</sup> Structural edifices of the same type as the rock-cut monastery at Undavalli (Guntur district) are found in Ceylon as well as in far off Cambodia.

Pilgrims and scholars used to go to and from Ceylon as that island had a good collection of the scriptures. Nāgārjuna<sup>4</sup> and Āryadōva are associated with the island, while Buddhaghosa and Buddhaddatta of a later day laboured hard in her libraries.

<sup>1</sup> The Influences of Indian Art (The India Society, London, 1925), p. 121. Majumdar, Champa, pp. 211-13.

<sup>2</sup> Majumdar, p. 272-73.

<sup>3</sup> See *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities* (Arch. Surv. of India N. I. Serie, 1894), pp. 39-40.

<sup>4</sup> See the Chapter on Nāgārjuna Bodhisattva, the King of Monks.



The 'island of pearls and precious stones' had large commerce with the mainland and with the Spice Islands

### *The Spice Islands*

Sir Stamford Raffles was the pioneer in the field of Javan antiquities and his noble work has been ably continued by the Batavian Society and Dutch scholars

The islands of the South Seas, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Bali, and Madura are other fields bearing the stamp of Pallava expansion. The grandest and biggest stūpa at Borobudur (which was modeled on the stūpa of Sangharama in its mighty design with countless dāgabas and that of Amarāvati in its numerous and elegant sculptures) and the temple to the Trinity at Prambanam (another monumental work) bring the most important of the islands, Java, into intimate contact with Āndhra <sup>1</sup>. The Pallava temples were generally for the Trinity like the one at Prambanam. The stūpa of Borobudur shows the astounding range and audacity of the artists who have chiselled a mountain into a paradise of beauty. The history that began with Bhārhut and passed through Amarāvati in meridian splendor closed in Borobudur in picturesque glory. In dimensions, it is unparalleled, in beauty of conception, it is unequalled, in the sculptures of its galleries 'which would extend over three miles if arranged consecutively', it is unique.

Java or *Yavadwīpa* was sometimes indifferently applied to Sumatra as well as to Java. The references of Ptolemy, Fa Hien and Itsing are to the former rather than to the latter. Java of to day was known as Kalinga and possessed two towns of the same name and another named Śrī Bhōga or Bhōja (Bhōgavati, *Tamil* Nāgapuram) <sup>2</sup>. There are traditions of colonisation by a certain Ādi Saka, by the peoples of Telingāna and by the peoples of Kalinga <sup>3</sup>.

The *Kawi* poems of Java and Bali are like the South Indian artificial poems <sup>4</sup>. The inscriptions found in Java and Borneo are in Pallava or early southern script <sup>5</sup>. The style of the Javan

<sup>1</sup> Feigussou Indian and Eastern Architecture, II, p 318

<sup>2</sup> Takakusu Itsing, p xlvii

<sup>3</sup> *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol xvi, p 132 Sir S Raffles *History of Java*, vol II, p 73, *Gerini*, p 591

<sup>4</sup> Burnell S I Paleography

<sup>5</sup> *I A* IV, p 355

architecture is southern of Pallava. Pūṇavarman of the Javan inscriptions like Mulavarman of Borneo was apparently of the Pallava stock. In the *drapālas*, in the figures in the niches, in niches and in sculptures in relief, the same Pallava influence is clearly traceable. The use of the Saka era by the later kings of Java shows again the influence of the Deccan rather than of the Tamil country.

In the fourth century A.D. Fa Hian noted the decline of Buddhism in the islands. From the next century we get the Brahminical inscriptions of Pūṇavarman. In the seventh century, Itsing remarks about the popularity of Buddhism, the importance of Sri Bhōga in Sumatra as a centre of learning and the common intercourse between China and India which is testified to by Ptolemy and Fa-Hian. The new impetus must have come from the Brahminical revival all along the coast from which the Buddhists might have escaped by sailing to the islands.

In Borneo, the Yupa inscriptions of Mulavarman<sup>1</sup> reveal the prevalence of Vēdic Brahminism in the fourth century A.D. From the script and from the name of the king, Mūlavarman has been pronounced as of the Pallava lineage. According to his inscription, Adiraja Āditya Dharmā of Sumatra was a devotee of the Buddha and erected a seven-storeyed vihāra (656 A.D.). According to Itsing, Sumatra was very rich with its gold and spices. The type of the Buddha found in these islands is similar to that of Amaravati with *usuzsa*, short curls, full robes, etc. Pallava influences are visible at every turn in the monuments of the isles.

### *Results*

The period when Buddhism was popular was one of restless activity as the religion was a missionary one. Prominent religious centres were also of great economic importance.

Increased commerce led to greater economic activity, more wants, more luxuries and a fuller life. Things largely available in one country were brought to another and thus production increased all round in all countries. More commerce meant more wealth and more leisure for finer arts and literature. In short, civilisation grew by leaps and bounds.

<sup>1</sup> By Dr. Vogel of Leyden

The colonial expansion of Āndhra civilised savage tribes in Greater India, gave them a new religion, art and literature and created a zest in them for a higher life. For the emigrants, it gave new experiences and brought a wider scope for intellectual and economic activity. The mother country derived the benefit of oversea trade and had additional training ground for her religious teachers. Her literature spread and was added to by her children abroad. Some of the inscriptions of Indo-China are good literature, they mention some of the rare literary works of the mainland and are relics of a considerable literary output by the colonials. There was, on the whole, more of movement, activity, enterprise and initiative under the favourable conditions of a busy commercial and colonial life.

## CHAPTER XIV

### THE ADMINISTRATION

A WELL-ORGANIZED administration with ministers and local governors and subordinate officials, more or less, on the Mauryan model, was in existence under the Śātakarnis. This is learnt from their inscriptions which mention some of their officials and from those of their erstwhile feudatories, the Pallavas. There is no reason to think that in empire building and administrative organization the Śātavāhanas were not inspired by the northern models and literature on Politics. The Śātavāhana empire was of the same kind as the Mauryan with an order of governors who, like Skandanaśa, combined the function perhaps with that of a general of the king. The extent of the empire depended on the capacity of the king and was not dictated by racial affinities or linguistic considerations. In India, an empire by its very nature was short lived. It aimed, not at exploitation but at glory and gave a sense of pride and a position of privilege to the emperor. Very rarely the native dynasties were rooted out, and never did the empire stop the even tenor of the local life. The empire was but a fulfilment of higher life but never the whole life itself. It was not one well-knit organism but a combine of organisms with independent life throbbing in the several local capitals.

#### *Local Divisions*

Even a small kingdom requires for a proper discharge of its functions a division and separation of power. Just as a loose imperial organization was the rule in the history of India, so a self contained local life was a general feature. A certain number of villages constituted a *viśhaya* or district which had a central official for looking to the two primary duties of collecting the revenues of the king and maintaining his authority. Looking after the king's charities and deciding disputes were also matters within his competence. The *rāshṭra* or province was found only in an empire. Or, if an independent kingdom was reduced to subjection, it often bore the name *rāshṭra* to remind, as it were, its former freedom. Thus, Mundarāshṭra, Karmarāshṭra and Vergarāshṭra were kingdoms once. It may be remembered

that the country of the Āndhras who now naturally look forward to a province of their own was only occasionally under one umbrella and even then the power of the local Rājas and chiefs was not inconsiderable. The districts of Guntur, Krishna and Gōdavarī were invariably under three independent dynasties.

### *The Officials*

The king the head of the kingdom was the supreme authority. He made no new laws but only administered the customs and the Brahminical laws. He rarely interfered with local life or with the people's. He had his advisers on whom devolved the bulk of his duties. Sometimes, like Jayavarman, the king would himself sign a grant of lands. Often, he would go out on camp to inquire into the welfare of his subjects, visiting the holy spots and dispensing charity to Gods and Brahmins. Many of the charters of the Pallavas of the northern branch were issued from such camps. Some kings like Skandavarman and his son Yuvarāja Vishnugōpa were famous scholars. The Yuvarāja was associated with the administration and Yuvarājas like Siva skandavarman and Vishnugōpa have made grants on their own authority. Manchyanna the Vishnukundin prince was an *ānapti* of a grant and Yuvarāja Vishnugopa led the army into the field. We have no idea at present what part, if any, the queen played in the administration. The freedom and equality of the women of those days are impressed upon us by the Āndhra sculptures which contain panels of local kings and queens holding court together. Instances are not wanting of queens like Chārudēvi and princesses like Chāntīśrī making grants. The growing Brahminical influences must have operated on the relations between the sexes to the disadvantage of the fair.

All the officials of the king's court are not mentioned in the inscriptions which are our only source for this subject. The royal princes are addressed by the Hirabadagallī plates<sup>1</sup> from

<sup>1</sup> They are also addressed to 'the generals, rulers of districts, prefects of countries, ministers, military officers,' etc. For Śātavāhana officials and administration see *E I*, vol. 1, p. 95, x, Ap No 1279, xviii, p. 316, xiv, p. 153. In the Śātavāhana and post Śātavāhana periods there must have been a fairly organized military department. Elephants are mentioned more than once as an important limb of the army. All big villages and capital towns were fortified. There is no evidence, however, to show if the state owned ships for war and other purposes if we omit the reference to the Śātavāhana boats in a Tamil epic.

which the inference may be drawn that they were viceroys. The same grant is signed by Bhattīśarman the privy councillor (*śahasadhikāta*). Another grant of the same age, the Kondamudi plates of Jayavarman, mentions the Mahārāja's *vyāpṛita* (executive officer) and *Mahādandanāyaka* (general in chief). In the *mahātālavarā* of the Ikshvaku sovereigns may be seen a high official of the sword. Ministers and governors of the king are mentioned by the Kollēru grant of Nandivarman Śāṅkāyana and Arjunadatta was *amātya* of Vasīṣṭhiputia Saktivarman, Mahārāja of Kalinga who ruled from Pithāpuram. The Peddavēgi plates mention *dēsādhīpatya*, *ayuktaka*, *vallabha*, *rājapuruṣas*, etc (governors, revenue officers, favorites, princes, etc). Except the duties of the *mahādandanāyaka*, those of the other advisers of the king cannot be defined and the former often occupied only a second place in command as the king himself led the forces to battle. The existence of a record office and of a special officer in charge of it are suggested to us by the word 'seen' that is engraved on the charters. Generally, a big officer signed the grant and executed it issuing the necessary letters for the purpose. It would be absurd to imagine that an organized administration in such a civilized epoch went on without regular records, chronicles and accounts. In more than one record, e.g., in the Pīkīra and Uruvappallī benefactions royal favorites are mentioned. These were presumably a distinguished order scattered throughout the kingdom who were honored by the king with private audience and personal friendship and who thus constituted a bulwark of the monarchy as did the Brahmins whose learning and piety were at the service of the State in return for its benefactions to them. The inscriptions of the period of our study and the long Eastern Chālukyan inscriptions indicate the preservation at the courts of royal genealogies and some of the important events.

The local divisions had their officials like the *nīyogas*, *nīyuktas*, *āyuktakas* and the *viśayaapati* of the Kantēru grant II, and the *adhikṛita* and *āyuktakas* of Karmarāśhṭra of the Ōmgōḍu grant I. Mention has already been made of princes who were viceroys. The Mayīdavōlu grant is addressed to the royal representative ruling Āndhrapatha from Amarāvati. Thus, the Pallava had two or more viceroys in the third century A.D. Under him were the district and other officials. Even the Śāṅkāyana of Vēṅgirājya seems to have had governors according

to the Kollēru giant Provincial and local chiefs (*Rathika* and *Bhojaka*) appear as early as Kharavēla's inscription (2nd century B C) The Hirāhadagallī and the Uruvappallī plates of two centuries later mention rulers of districts and prefects of counties Below the district heads were the heads of villages A village headman is known from the Bhattiprōlu inscriptions of the third century B C and in the *Bhojaka* of the inscriptions of this period may be seen a slightly higher limb of power Thus, Kavachakāra *Bhōga* was a subdivision of Karmarāshtra<sup>1</sup> The viceroy or governor seems to have had his own advisers and departmental heads for his province The overseers of the Pīkīrā plates were inspectors of modern times who toured about and kept up the efficiency of the administration In the same document are found mentioned messengers who were charged with special tasks, while the roaming spies of the Hirahadagallī plates remind us of Kautilya's *Arthasāstra* which deems them indispensable as the eyes and ears of the king The mention of generals, guards and military officers in the same valuable document warrants the inference that the king's army was divided and stationed in different and vulnerable parts of the kingdom

### *The political divisions of Āndhra*

The Āndhra country contained, among others, the following divisions —

(1) Sātāhanī rāshtra of the Myākadonī<sup>2</sup> and the Hirahadagallī inscriptions It was the region in and round Adōnī to the east of the natural boundary of the Sandur hills, but if it extended eastward as far as the later Rēnādu in Cuddappah is not known

(2) Bālūkulanādu, the land of the Bānas which lay west of the Āndhrapatha or Vadugavalī 12,000 This nādu comprised parts of the modern Cuddappah and Chittoor districts There is no early reference to the Bāna except that in the Tālaguṇḍa inscription A part of the Bālūkula nādu was in later Pākārāshtra which comprised parts of Cuddappah and Nellore and had Pottappī as its capital (Pullampet taluk), the city figuring in many later Telugu Chōla inscriptions This dynasty affiliated to the Tamil Chōlas was found here as early as the seventh

<sup>1</sup> *FI*, vol VIII, p 233

<sup>2</sup> *LI*, vol XIV, p 153

century according to Hiuen-Tsang and inscriptions and this link between Āndhīa and Dravida must have influenced Telugu religion and literature from Karikala's days

(3) *Muliki nādu* or *Muriki nādu* which appears as *Mulaka* in the Nāsik inscription of the second century A D <sup>1</sup> It comprised a goodly portion of the present Kurnool district and a part of south-east Hyderabad and was dominated by Śrī Parvata There are innumerable references to it in later inscriptions <sup>2</sup>

(4) *Munda rāshtra* of the *Pikīrā* <sup>3</sup> and *Uruvappalli Plates* <sup>4</sup> Why it was so called is not known It comprised the present Nellore district, more or less It was once an independent kingdom and perhaps Ptolemy's *Arvarnor* extended so far For long it was the home province of the Pallavas together with the *Guṇṭūr* district *Pākanāḍu* or *Viśhaya* appears later as a division of this *rāshtra* <sup>5</sup>

(5) *Karma rāshtra* north of *Munda rāshtra* <sup>6</sup> It was also originally an important division and possessed the most famous and magnificent Buddhist establishments It was also known as *Karmanāḍu* <sup>7</sup> or *Kammanāḍu* and is as old as the *Jaggayyapēta* inscriptions of the third century A D It is surmised that *Kamammet* in Hyderabad had some connection with *Kaimarāshtra* This country was later on known as *Velanāḍu* or *Velanādu* (round *Rēpalle*) *Kronnāḍu* (new country, round *Amarāvati*) and so on The *Viśhaya* of *Kantēru*, *Kandēruwādi* was a well-known one in this province <sup>8</sup>

(6) *Vēngināḍu* or *Vengorāshtra*, north of *Karmarāshtra* It was the *door* between the *Krishna* and the *Gōdāvarī* and indefinitely extended up to the Ghats to the west It was the very heart of Āndhīa for long The *Kudūrāhāra Viśhaya* round *Masulipatnam* of this *Nāḍu* is very well known from the third century A D <sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *E I*, vol viii, p 61

<sup>2</sup> *E I*, vol iii, p 24 *Plots of Anantpūr* were in later *Nalavādi* and *Nulambapādi* both of which can be traced back to the seventh century

<sup>3</sup> *E I*, vol viii, p 159

<sup>4</sup> *I A*, vol v, p 50

<sup>5</sup> *E I*, vol iii, p 24

<sup>6</sup> *E I*, vol xv, p 246, *E I*, vol viii, p 233

<sup>7</sup> *Nāndu* or *Nādu* does not occur in the inscriptions of our period

<sup>8</sup> *E I*, vol xviii, p 55

<sup>9</sup> *I A*, vol v, p 154, *S I I*, vol i, p 47 f n, *I A*, vol v, p 176, *E I*, vol vi, p 315



(7) Prōlnādu, north of the Gōdāvarī, occurs first in an eighth century inscription. It was the country round Pithāpuram. The name of the country between Rajahmundry and Pithāpuram is not known though it contained the *vishaya* of Guddādi<sup>1</sup> round Drāksharamā and Chellu.

(8) Dēvarāshtra occurring in a late inscription as the name of the country in which Yellamanchi Kalinga was, i.e., round modern Yellamanchili (M S M Ry). Dēvarāshtra occurs in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta as the kingdom of Kubēra though it is uncertain if the reference is to the Telugu Dēvarāshtra and not to the Mahārāṭṭa.

(9) Plakīrāshtra<sup>2</sup> in and round Ramatīrtham (Vizāgapatnam district) occurs in the Vishnukundin inscription of Ramatīrtham and in the Chipurpalle inscription of Kubja Vishnuvardhana. North of this began Kalinga Proper though undoubtedly Kalinga extended its sway indefinitely as far as the Gōdāvarī as opportunities occurred. About the seventh century and onwards, it expanded over a large part of modern Vizāgapatnam district. The Rāgholu plates of Śaktivarman call the country round Chicacole Kalinga Vishaya and they perhaps belong to about 400 A D. Besides Kalinga, Kosala encroached upon Āndhra from time to time to the west of the Ghats.<sup>3</sup>

In all the inscriptions between 200 and 600 A D, there is no suggestion of any rule other than that of one man. Committees and *nigamas* with president and treasurer appear in the early Bhattiprōlu inscriptions as well as in those of Amarāvati and Buddhist *sanghas* with their own functionaries to supervise their works, their meetings, etc., must have existed in large numbers.<sup>4</sup> But, how far the self-governing guilds and *sanghas* may be taken as reminiscent of extinct political and judicial *sabhas* it is very

<sup>1</sup> *E I*, vol xviii, p 58, vol iv, p 33, vol xvii, p 334. The origin of Guddādi may be traced to Guddi (blind, Andhaka).

<sup>2</sup> *E I*, vol xii, p 133, vol ix, p 317.

<sup>3</sup> *E I*, vol xii, p 1. The *vaudikas* of Kosalanādu are a distinct branch of the Telugu Brahmins.

<sup>4</sup> The *sangha* was the governing body of each monastery. It was democratic and well regulated. It owned property, had officers and periodic meetings for religious and administrative business. It was no easy matter to provide a big establishment with food, etc. There was communal life. See D R Bhandarkar Carmichael lectures (Calcutta Univ.) for the rules of the *sangha*. But the laity had no share in the *sangha*.

difficult to say, though the Hathigumpha inscription warrants to some extent the prevalence of local self-government in Kalinga<sup>1</sup> A stray reference to the place of the village assembly as a boundary mark in an inscription of Amma II is, however, very suggestive<sup>2</sup>

### *Revenues*

The revenues of the state were drawn from various sources The mainstay of Public finance has always been land revenue In addition, numerous imposts were levied There were duties on articles of merchandise and special customs officers were appointed by the Pallava for the purpose The king had a share in all the products grown and manufactured<sup>3</sup> Thus, he was entitled to a percentage of milk, buttermilk, sugar, salt, vegetables, etc In all likelihood, the custom originated in the supplies made to the king during his tours The king had the rights of purveyance and pre-emption against which the Magna Charta provided in England Men and oxen could be forced into royal service Grass, wood, vegetables, etc, were required to be supplied to the king In course of time, all these dues must have been consolidated as the total revenue from the village Thus, the Komarti plates of Chandravarman of Kalinga<sup>4</sup> speak of the grain and gold due from a village gifted away to a Brahmin The grain was the share of the land revenue and the gold, the other imposts The donee never interfered with the agricultural or other organization of the village, but, thereafter what used to go to the royal treasury went into his hands

### *Charities*

Out of the revenues, the king maintained his household and establishment He celebrated *yajnas* which benefited the poor and gave lands to Brahmins and Gods, the former being the custodians of learning, the high priests of religion who kept

<sup>1</sup> *Paura* and *Janapada* occur in the inscription The *Janapada* of Kan̄eru (Guntūr district) is mentioned in an inscription of the Ānanda Gōtra The *Janapada* of Sātavāhanī ahāra occurs in the Myakadōni inscription

<sup>2</sup> *I A*, vol viii, p 76, *J I*, vol v, p 138

<sup>3</sup> This had its origin in tribal kingship when the king was entitled to the best that was produced and to a share of all products

<sup>4</sup> *E I*, vol iv, p 142



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## CHAPTER X

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## CHAPTER XI

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# CHAPTER XIII

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# GENEALOGICAL TABLES

## I SOUTHERN ĀNDHRA

(A large part of Grantur, Nellore and a large part of the Ceded Districts)

### PALLAVAS

(See pages 76 and 100)

Father of Siva or Vijayaskandavarman  
(c. after 225 A.D. Married a Naga?)

son

Siva or Vijayaskandavarman  
(c. about 250 A.D. Asvamedhin. Donor of Mayidivolu and  
Hirahiduvillipiles)

son

(Yuvavijaya) Buddhavarman  
(married Chitradevi, donor of Kundukuru C.P. Ikshvaku  
sway in Amritaviti?) About 275 A.D.

son

Buddhyankira (c. about 300 A.D.)

Vishnugopa (340 A.D. contemporary of Samudragupta)

Chola interregnum  
Rise of the Kadambas

Kumāravishnu I (Asvamedhin, captured Kāñchi 360 A.D.)

Kāñchi

son

Buddhavarmān (ac. 385 A.D.  
fought with the Chōlas)

son

Kumāravishnu II (ac. 410 A.D.  
donor of the Chendalur C.P., ruled  
up to the Krishna)

Northern

Skandavarman (acquired a  
kingdom)

son

Viravarmān (a great victor)

son

Skandavarman (a hero of  
100 battles and donor of  
Omgōdu I C.P.)

Kāñchi

Simhavarmān (ac. 435 A.D. according to  
*Toluvabhāga*, crowned the Gunga and  
warred with the Kadambas who had  
imperial relations)

son

Skandavarman (crowned the Gunga and  
warred with the Kadambas)

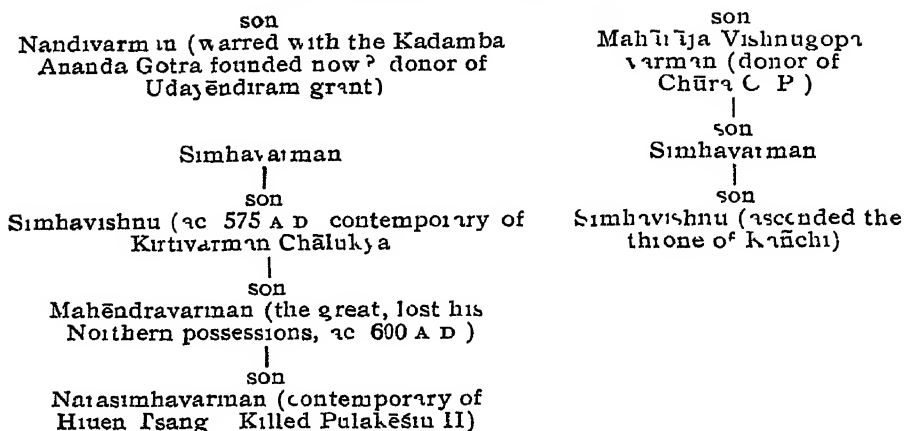
Northern

Yuvavijaya Vishnugopa  
(donor of  
Uruvappalli C.P.)

son

Simhavarmān (donor of  
Pikiri, Māngadur and  
Omgōdu II C.P.  
conquered Vēngi  
(c. about 450 A.D.)

## I SOUTHERN ĀNDHRA—(contd)

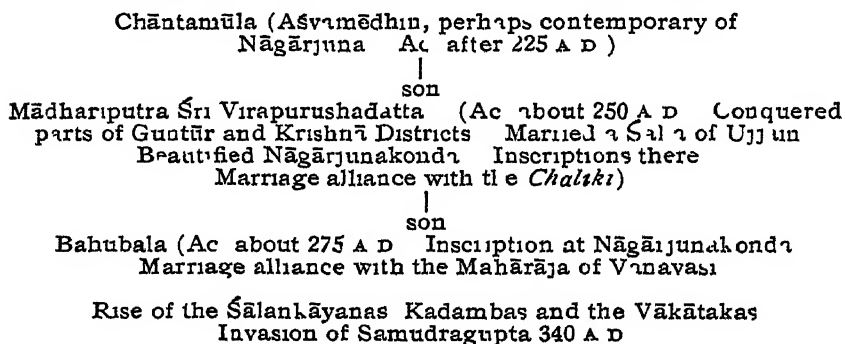


## II CENTRAL ANDHRA

(Parts of Eastern Hyderabad, Krishna and West Godāvāri Districts)

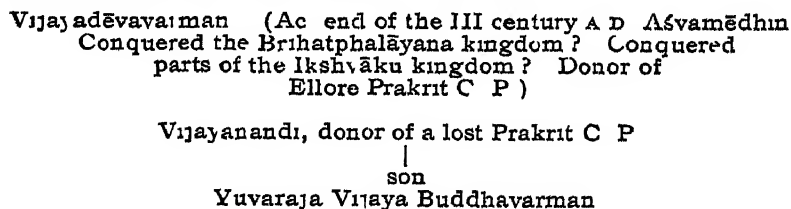
## I IKSHVĀKUS

(Ruled Northern Āndhra and parts of Guntūr District also)



## II ŚALANKĀYANAS

(Ruled Krishna and West Godāvāri Districts)



II ŚĀLANKĀYANAS—(contd)

Hastivarman (340 A D contemporary of Samudragupta A warrior)

son

Nandivarman, donor of Kāntēru C P II

son

Chandrarman (a warrior)

son

Nandivarman (donor of Peddavēgi and Kolleru C P )

Brother of above ?

Vijayaskandavarman (donor of Kāntēru C P I Temporary  
Pallava sway in Vengi Vishnukundin conquest of  
Vengi (about 460 A D )

III VISHNUKUNDINS

(Originally in the Śrī Sūlam region(?), then rulers of Krishnā, West Godavari and parts of East Godavari Districts Once ruled upto Rāmatirtham in the north and a bit south of the Krishna in the south for some years)

Madhavavarman I (Ac about 350 A D Asvamedhin)

son

Devavarman

son

Madhavavarman II (donor of Ipūr C P II in year 47)

Govindavarman

son

Madhavavarman III (married a Vākātaka, accession to Vengi in  
460 or so A D , donor of Ipur I C P in year 37)

son

Vikramendrarman I

son

Indrarman (warred with Kalinga Donor of Rāmatirtham C P  
in year 27 ) Gangā era after year 27

son

Vikramendrarman II (donor of Chikkulla C P )

son

Govindavarman II

son

Madhavavarman IV or Janārayana (donor of Godāvāri C P  
in year 48, end of rule in 610)



## III NORTHERN ĀNDHRA

(A small part of Eastern Hyderabad East Godavari and Vizagapatnam Districts Kalinga sometimes extended upto the Godavari Later, Vizag District became a part of Kalinga)

Il shvāku rule ?

Mahendira, and Swāmidatta Kuber ( ? ) 310 A D

Vāṣṭiputra Śaktivarmā (ruled from Pithāpuram Ornament of the  
Magadha family Donor of Rāghola C P ) Any relation  
with the Il shvākus or Vākātakas ?

Chandrayāman (donor of Komuti C P )

Umayāman (donor of Brihātprastha C P )

Nandaprabhāñjarayāman (donor of 2 C P )

Indra (opponent of the Vishnukundin Indra according to  
Prithivīmūli's Godavari C P , contemporary of Hūisena  
Vākātaka, founded the Gūngāer )

Hastivāman (year 80 of the Gūngāis Donor of Utlam C P  
Warrior foe of Pulakesin II ?)

|  
son

Indrayāman (donor of Achyutapuram year 87  
Tekkalu and Parlakimedi C P 91)

|  
grandson

Indrayāman (year 128 Chitrole C P )

## READING DATES IN THE BOOK

### PART I

#### B C

413-322	The rule of the Nandas
322-298	Chandragupta Maurya
302	Megasthenes at Pataliputra
272-232	Asoka Maurya
300-200	Foundation of many of the well known stūpas of Āndhra
225	Śatavahanas independent
185-73	The rule of the Śungas in Magadha and Vidisha
171	Accession of Kharavēla of Kalinga according to his Hathigumpha inscription
73-28	The rule of the Kanvas in Magadha

#### A D.

II Century	Nāgārijuna
107-128	Gautamiputra Śātakarni
128-156	Vāsishṭiputra Pulumāyi II
120-160	Kanishka Kushāna
225	The end of the rule of Pulumāyi IV (Dr V A Smith)
III Century	Aryadeva
399-414	Travels of Fahian
401	Some works of Nāgārijuna translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva
V Century	Dignaga
VI Century ?	Bhāvavivēka
VII Century	Dharmakīrti
630-644	Hsuen Tsang's travels in India
671-695	Travels of I-tsing

### PART II

#### B C

IV Century	Dravidian Colonists in Burma
III Century	Inscriptions of Aśoka near Gooty
III Century	Inscriptions of Bhattiprolu

## B C

- 225 Simuka founder of Sātavāhāna independence  
 II Century Khāravēla of Kalinga, contemporary of  
 Sātakarni of Nānaghāt

## A D

- 80 Pliny  
 80 *Periplus*  
 I Century Inscriptions in South Indian alphabet in  
 Burma  
 107-128 Gautamīputra Sātakarni, contemporary of  
 Saka Nahapāna  
 128-156 Vāsistīputra Pulumāyi II—inscription at  
 Amarāvati  
 128 Accession of Rudradāman, Mahākshatrpa of  
 Malwa  
 140 Ptolemy's *Geography*  
 166-195 Yajña Sri Sātakarni—inscription at the mouth  
 of the Kṛishnā  
 195-225 Siva Sri—inscription at Amarāvati (?)  
 Chandia Sri—inscription at Pithāpuram  
 Vijaya—inscription on a seal at Rāmatīr-  
 tham (?)  
 Pulumāyi IV—Myākadoni inscription  
 225 End of Sātavāhāna rule  
 225 Fall of the Kushanas  
 225-250 Sri Parvata Āndhīas  
 Ikshvākus independent—Chantamūla  
 Brihatphalāyanas independent—Jayavarman  
 Pallavas independent—Sivaskandavarman's  
 father  
 III Century Voca inscription in Indo-China  
 250 Chandavarman of Indo-China  
 III Century Inscriptions at Nāgarjunakonda relating  
 Āndhra to China and Ceylon  
 250-275 Virapurushadatta, Ikshvāku  
 Sivaskandavarman, Pallava  
 275-300 Bahubala, Ikshvāku  
 Buddhavarman, Pallava  
 Brihatphalāyana kingdom annexed by  
 Śālankāyana Vijayadēvavarman  
 340 Invasion of Samudragupta,

## A D

- 340 Vishnugopa of Kāñchi, Pallava  
 Ugrasēna of Palakka, Pallava (?)  
 Hastivarman of Vengi, Śāṅkāyana  
 Mahendia of Pithāpuram  
 Swāmidatta of Kottūru  
 Mantarāja of Kaurāla
- 340-360 Chola interregnum at Kāñchi  
 Rise of Mayūraśarman  
 Prithvisēna I, Vākātaka the first to come South  
 and conquer Kuntala  
 First Vishnukundin in Śrī Sailam region (?)  
 Śaktivarman of Pithāpuram Māhārāja of  
 Kalinga
- 360 Kumāravishnu Pallava recaptures Kāñchi
- 380 Accession of Chandragupta II, Gupta
- 395 Marriage of Prabhavatī, daughter of Chandra  
 gupta II and the Vākātaka king Rudrasēna II
- IV Century Fahian in India and Java
- IV Century Mūlavarman in Borneo
- IV Century Buddhist inscription in Malaya
- 400 Bhadravarman of Indo-China
- V Century Pūrnavarman of Java
- V Century Buddhaghosha and Buddhadatta
- 400-425 Kumāravishnu, grandson of captor of Kāñchi  
 and ruler of the country as far as the Kṛishṇa  
 Raghu, Kadamba  
 Madhavavarman II, Vishnukundin in Śrī  
 Sailam region (?)  
 Chandrarvarman, Śāṅkāyana  
 Accession of Vijayanandi, Śāṅkāyana  
 Chandrarvarman of Kalinga (?)
- 435 Accession of Simhavarman of Kāñchi, Pallava
- 425-450 Simhavarman of Kāñchi, Pallava—Crowned  
 the Gangā  
 Simhavarman of Nellore and Guṇṭūr who  
 conquered Vēngi  
 Kakusthavarman, Kadamba  
 Mūlavarman III Vishnukundin who  
 married a Vākātaka (450 ?)  
 Umavarman of Kalinga (?)

## A D

- 450 Invasion of Vēngī by Simhavarman, Pallava  
(son of Vishnugōpa)  
Salankāyana rule ends
- 460 Beginning of Vishnukundin rule in Vēngī  
Mādhavavarman III, King of Vēngī
- 475-500 Skandavarman at Kāñchi, Pallava (son of  
Simhavarman)  
Mrigēsavarman, Kadamba  
End of Vishnukundin Mādhavavarman III's  
rule  
Accession of Ravivarman, Kadamba
- 500-525 Nandivarman, Pallava at Kāñchi  
Indiavarman, Vishnukundin—Rāmatīrtham  
C P in year 27  
Indiavarman of Kalinga  
Harisena Vākātaka
- 525-550 Āndhra and Kalinga independent of the  
Vākātaka  
Ganga era  
Ānandagotīa founded (?)  
Bhavavarman of Indo-China
- 550 Accession of Krishnavarman II, Kadamba  
Kadamba-Ganga alliance  
Decline of Kadamba rule  
Rise of the Chālukyas  
Accession of Pulakēsin I who captured  
Halsi  
Gangas in Kalinga
- 575 Accession of Simhavishnu, Pallava at Kāñchi,  
contemporary of Poet Bhāravi  
Kīrtivarman Chālukya who defeated the  
Kadambas and others
- 609 Accession of Pulakēsin II and his *dig-  
vijaya*
- 609-610 Vishnuvardhana, younger brother of Pulakē-  
sin II, Viceroy of Āndhra, with his capital  
in the coastal districts  
End of Vishnukundin rule in Vēngī
- 618 Vishnuvardhana independent  
Founded the Eastern Chālukyan dynasty

## A D

## VII Century

Harshavardhana of Kanauj (606-647 A D)  
 Stupa in Prome Dt with inscriptions in  
 Telugu Kannada script  
 Ādhirāja Ādityadharma of Sumatra  
 Hastivarman and Indravarman, Gangas of  
 Kalinga (?)  
 Jayasinha, Eastern Chālukya and his suc-  
 cessors in Āndhra  
 Mahēndiavarman, Narasimhavarma and  
 their successors in Dravida  
 Pulakēsin II and his successors in the  
 Deccan

630-644

Hsueh Tsang in India

671-695

Travels of I-tsing

## VIII Century (?)

Borobudur and Prambanam temples in Java



# INDEX

## A

- Abhaya, 59  
*Abhiśaṁsa*, 3, 51  
 Abhīras, 69  
 Acanthus, 49  
 Acoustics, 26  
 Adigama, 73  
 Adīśaka, 142  
 Āditya, 125  
 Āditya Dharmā (Sumatīa), 143  
 Administration of Āndhra, chap  
 xiv, p 145 Local administra-  
 tion, 145—Officials, 146—Politi-  
 cal divisions, 148—Revenues,  
 151—Charities, 152  
 Adoni, 76, 148  
*Ahanānāru*, 4, 10, 72  
 Aihōle ins, 127 128 129  
 Airāṇṇapallā, 120, 121  
*Aṭṭaśya Brāhmaṇa*, 4  
 Ajantā, 18, 19, 25, 41, 44, 46, 49, 50,  
 117, 130  
 Ajitabhattā, 117  
 Alberūni, 57  
 Alexandria, 49  
 Allāhābād pillar ins, 79, 81, 89 90,  
 92, 119 120, 150  
*Allogyne*, 134  
 Allūru, 4, 11, 16, 23 27  
 Allūru Kottapittam, 134  
 Alukā, 127  
 Amarapura, 38, 112 113 115  
 Amravatī, 4, 10, 11, 16, 23, 25, 35,  
 36, 53 63 69 86 109 112 113,  
 also chap iii 118, 135, 138, 139,  
 141 142, 143 147, 149, 150  
 Architectural styles, 47, 48  
 Animals and men in sculpture, 44  
 Books on, 37, 38  
 Buddhist symbols in, 42  
 D etc., 14, 15, 16  
 Images, 23, 24, 44  
 Ikshvāku sway in, 78  
 In Indo China, 135, 138, 139  
 Opinions on, 49 50  
 Pillar ins at, 103  
 Rails, 21, 40, 42, 60  
*Śūpa*, 17, 37  
 Sculptures, 5, 18 19, 22, 39, 45  
 Social life in sculptures, 45, 47  
*Vihāra*, 27  
*Amalābha*, 30, 57  
 Amma II, 129, 151  
 Amraoti, 112  
 Āmudalivalasa, 120  
 Anāpalle, 11  
 Ānandī, Bhūdantī, 59, 86  
 Ānandā gōtra, 16, 38, 109, 112, 138,  
 151  
 Ānāntapūr, 149  
 Ānāntapūr Dt., 11  
*Andhaka*, 150  
*Andhaka* monks, 3, 4, 9, 14  
*Andhakavinda*, 6  
*Andhakavinda Suttānta*, 62  
*Andhaka*, 135  
 Āndhra, 92, 117, 119, Art, 3, 11–36,  
 118, 136, 138, 141, 142, 143, also  
 chap iii  
 And Telugu, 8, 9 10  
 Buddhism, 3 chap ii, iii, iv  
 Bhṛtyas, 5, 131  
 Coastline, 132  
 Commerce and Colonisation, chap  
 xiii  
 Coins (Śāṭavāhana), 16 37, 67,  
 135  
 Culture, 5, 8, 28, chaps ii, iii,  
 xiii  
 Diamond mines, 133  
 Early kings of, 4–6  
 End of Śāṭavāhana rule, 8  
 Imperial power, 7  
 Monuments, 4, chap ii  
*Nagas*, 6  
 Origin of civilisation, 28, 29  
 Pārvatya, 82–84  
 Rivers, 132  
 South of Elā, R. 9  
 Vishnu, 6  
 Āndhra culture abroad  
 Burma, 136  
 Ceylon, 141  
 Malaya, 138  
 Indo China, 139  
 Spice Islands, 142  
 Āndhra monuments, 4, 11–36  
 Age of *śūpas*, 14–16  
 Buddhist images, 23–24  
*Charityas*, 24–26  
 Distribution, 11–12  
 Mounds, 12  
 Relic caskets, 22–23  
 Situation, 12–13  
*Śūpas*, 13–14  
 Style of *śūpas*, 17–18  
 Sculptures of, 19–22



## Āndhra monuments—(contd.)

- Some more remains, 36  
*Temple cotta*, 26  
*Viharas*, 26-28  
*Andhavana*, 26  
*Āndhā āhākathā*, 9  
*Āndhā Dravida bhāṣā*, 9  
*Āndhā Kūmadī*, 6  
*Andhrapatha* 9, 147, 148  
*Andhra undarī*, 109  
*Anga*, 127  
*Angiras* 82  
*Angiras Hāritas*, 82  
*Annam*, 139  
*Antonines*, 49  
*Apārānta* 55  
*Apollo* 49  
*Aśvān* 8, 135 136  
*Architecture* 28, 141, 142, 143  
*Aripālem caves*, 27  
*Arjunadatta*, 147  
*Āryamañjarī*, 55  
*Art*, foreign influences on, 48  
*Aśvāsūtra*, 148  
*Ārugolānu*, 11, 20, 27  
*Aruvālur* 73 105  
*Āvarnol*, 149  
*Āryadēva*, 54, 59, 62 141  
*Ārya Munisūri Mūla talpa*, 6, 9  
 27, 83, 86  
*Āryavāman Ganga* 108  
*Āśanapūta*, 126  
*Āśmaka* 81  
*Āśoka*, 3, 4, 5 9 49, 67, 137, 138  
 And Āndhra, 4-5  
 And Brahmins 32  
*Lāis*, 15 44, 48  
 Rock edicts 3 4, 10, 11  
 Script, 5, 14, 23  
*Stūpas* of, 4  
*Assyria*, 49, 74  
*Asvaghōṣa*, 30, 59  
*Asvathāman*, 72, 139, 140  
*Athene* 49  
*Ava*, 121, 135  
*Āvalokiteśvara*, 30, 57  
*Āvamukta*, 120 121  
*Āvanisundarī kathā*, 129  
*Āvaraśailas* 4, 51, 85  
*Āyaka* pillars 18, 22, 43  
*Āy Āndrohi*, 127

## B

- Bādāmi*, 126, 127, 130, 141  
*Bāgh*, 41  
*Bāhubala*, Ikshvāku, 81, 86  
*Bahusrutya* 85  
*Bālāditya*, 123  
*Bali*, 142

- Balikulanādu*, 143  
*Balongha*, 135  
*Bāna* 88, 148  
*Bāna the poet*, 55  
*Bandanilē*, 4  
*Bandar Mālinga* (Bandamūrlanka)  
 134  
*Bāpatla*, 12  
*Bapīrī*, 85  
 'Bappadēva' Pallava, 77  
*Barābar*, 25  
*Rassarōnāgos*, 73  
*Baudhāyana* 4  
*Bellāry*, 67, 69, 76, 77, 78, 83, 107  
*Bellāry Dist.* 8, 71  
*Benna* (Krishna R.), 38  
*Bennānatha*, 109  
*Berār*, 115  
*Bezvāda*, 8, 11, 16, 23, 25, 34 37, 51,  
 52, 113 118  
*Bhadravārman* (Indo China), 139  
*Bhakti*, 30, 32, 33, 57, 94  
*Bhānuchandra*, 124, 125  
*Bhāradhwaja*, 111, 119, 140  
*Bhāravi*, 103 129  
*Bharhut*, 49, 142  
*Bhattidēvi*, 86  
*Bhattiprōlu*, 5 6, 11, 12, 14 17, 18,  
 22, 23, 27, 31, 33, 38, 133, 148,  
 150  
*Bhattīśarman* 147  
*Bhāvavārman* (Indo China) 140  
*Bhāvanivēka*, 51, 62  
*Bhūsa*, 5, 18, 19, 38  
*Bhōga* (Spice Islands), 135, 142, 143  
*Bhōgipuram*, 119  
*Bhōgāvatī* 142  
*Bhōja* (of Berar), 60  
*Bhōja* (of Spice Islands), 135, 142  
*Bhōjaka*, 90  
*Bhramali*, 59  
*Bibliography*, 153  
*Bijapur Dt.*, 127  
*Bindusāra*, 4  
*Bōdhgaya*, 50  
*Bōdhīśrī*, 85 86  
*Bogandānūdbba* 20, 30  
*Borneo*, 142, 143  
*Bōrōbūdū*, 41, 142  
*Brahmadeya*, 152  
*Brahmaputra River*, 135  
*Brāhmi*, 5  
*Brahminism*, 4, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33,  
 70, 77, 88, 92, 93, 94, 111, 125,  
 126, 143  
*Brihadbala*, Ikshvāku, 81  
*Brihat Bāna*, 78  
*Brihatkathā*, 9  
*Brihatphalāyanas* 69, 78, 83, 88, 92  
*British Museum Plates* (Kandukūru  
 C P), 76

- Bronzes of Andhra, etc , 24, 44, 138,  
139, 141  
Buddha, 3 14 85  
Ikshvāku, 81  
Visited Andhra, 3  
Images of 14, 23, 21,  
Origin of Bud image 50  
Images in Burma, 137  
In Indo China, 141  
In Malaya and Java, 138, 143  
Stories of Buddhism, 3 6  
Stories of in sculpture 20-21  
*Buddha Charita*, 30  
Buddhadatta, 54, 100, 104 105, 137,  
138, 141  
Buddhaghōṣha 9, 54 137, 141  
*Buddhaghosaupputti*, 137  
Buddhānā, 24, 138  
Buddhavarman, Śālikāyana 89, 91  
Pillars, Early, 76, Later, 96, 98,  
100 101 104 107  
Buddhism, 94, 125 126  
And Brahminism, 32, 36  
And Women 16  
Art of survival 34  
Decline of 29-33  
In Greater India, chap viii  
In Andhra, 3-1 See also Chaps  
ii iii iv  
Influence of, 28-29  
Introduction, 3, 6, 8, 9, 31, 83,  
84 85  
Monuments, 3, 85  
Monuments of, 8, 11-28, 83-5  
chap II Also chap iii  
Nāgājuna and, chap iv  
Persecution of, 31  
Spread of, 4, 28  
Symbols of, 11, 42  
Usurpation of Bud Centies, 33  
Buddhyānkura, 76  
Bull seal  
Anandagotra, 110  
Kalinga kings, 119  
Pallavas, 89  
Śālikāyana 89  
Burgess and Amaravati, 37  
Burma, 8, 133, 135, 136, 137, 138

C

- Cambodia, 139, 140, 141  
Casket, relic, 22-23  
Ceded Districts, 8, 12, 28, 33, 101,  
106, 107, 108, 131  
Central Provinces, 8, 61, 70, 81, 111,  
112  
Ceylon, 3, 54, 59, 71, 85, 87, 137,  
141-2  
*Chaityas*, 12, 24, 24-26, 85

- Chaityaks*, 4, 38  
*Chakra* Pillar, 43  
*Chakra* plan of *Stūpas*, 17  
*Chalukya* 82, 87, 127  
*Chalukyas* 69, 70, 82 87, 89, 103,  
105 106 108, 109, 110, 114, 117,  
118, 130 chap vi, p 126  
History, 127  
In 611 130  
Origin, 127  
Cālukyan inscription, 16 105 140  
Chālukyas, Eastern 113, 125, 129,  
130, 136 140, 147  
Chālukyan style, 33  
Chālukya and Pāṇḍyan, 71  
Chām Temple, 141  
Champa 135 139 140  
*Chandadanda*, 108  
Chandika, 54  
Chandra 60  
Chandira Śālikāyana, 7 16  
Chandragupta Maurya, 4  
Chandragupta I, 60  
Chandragupta II, 115, 120  
Chandraguptaputra, 4, 36  
Chandramukha 59 85  
Chandrarman, Śālikāyana, 90,  
91, 92  
Chandrarman, of Kalinga, 70, 116,  
119 122, 123 151  
Chandrarman, of Indo China, 140  
Chintāmūla, Ikshvāku, 61, 82, 81,  
85, 90, 115  
Chintāri, 85, 87, 146  
Chinties, Royal, 151  
Chārudvī, 76, 79, 146, 152  
Chashtan, 7  
Chattigarh, 81  
Chebrolu 95  
Chejāla (Chējārla), 11, 16, 25, 26,  
35 36, 109, 129  
Chellā, 150  
Chendur C P, 72, 96, 97, 98, 100,  
101, 102, 103, 107  
*Chersonese*, 138  
Cherukūru, 83  
Chicāḍle 8, 30, 122, 150  
Chicāḍle taluk, 36  
Chicāḍle C P, 125  
Chikkulla, 113  
Chikkulla C P, 9, 114, 116  
China, 55, 58, 85, 134, 135, 140, 143  
China, a village, 135  
Chinese histories, 7  
Chingleput District, 79  
Chinna Gāṇjam, 11, 12, 15, 19, 20  
Chinna Vēgi, 36, 92, 118  
Chipurpalle, 116, 118, 125, 127  
Chipurpalle C P, 126, 129, 150  
*Chitta Visuddhi prakarna*, 62  
Chittoor, 8

Chōlas, 69, 72, 73, 79, 81, 92, 93, 98,  
100, 104, 105, 106, 107, 121, 129,  
148

Chōla interregnum, 79-80, 104

Chōlanādu, 105

Chōla Revival, 78, 80

Chōlas, Telugu 105, 148

Chōla and Tiraiyan, 72

Chronology 92

*Chrisse*, 134

*Chuladhammagiri Kulaha vāhira*,  
85

*Chūliye*, (Cuddappah and Kurnool),  
4, 62

Chūra, 95

Chūra, C P, 95, 96, 97, 104

Chūtāpallava, 78, 98

Chūtūs, 69

Circārs, 7

Cocanāda, 83

Cochin China, 139

Coins—

Miscellaneous, 23, 36, 85, 136, 137

Pallava, 71, 77

Satavāhana, 16, 37, 71, 135

Samudragupta, 122

Roman, 16, 134

Vishnukundin, 118

Colonies and Commerce, 8, 132, 133

Commerce and Colonies, 8, 132, 133

Comorin, Cape, 121, 134

Coromandel Coast, 37, 138

Cuddappāh, 8, 134

Cuddappāh District, 33, 71, 148

Cuddappāh stones, 38

## D

*Dāgabas*, 13

(See also *Stūpas*)

Dakshina, 36, 58, 81

(See also Deccan)

Dakshina Kōśala, 53, 61, 67, 78

Dakshinapatha, 7, 9, 39, 108, 120

*Daladavamsa*, 3

Dālūra, 33, 79

Damana, 120, 121

*Damila*, 85

Dāmōdara (Ānanda Gōtra), 110, 138

Dandin, 9, 129

Dantakumāra, 138

Dantapura, 138, 141

Dantavaktīakōta, 36

*Dārlakonda*, 13

Darsi, C P, 77, 78

*Daśabhūmi vibhāsha Śāstra*, 56

*Daśakumāracharitra*, 9

Daśanapura, 95, 102

Daśavarman, 105

*Dasyu* cult, 4

Deccan, 5, 6, 8, 68, 74, 81, 82, 87,  
105, 107, 109, 115, 117, 119, 120,  
121, 123, 130, 131, 136, 143

(See also *Dakshina* and *Dakshina*  
patha)

Dendalūru, 36, 93, 118

*Dēsiya* 9

*Dēvabhōga*, 152

Dēvagiri, 85

Dēvanāmpīyya Tissa, 3

*Deverakana Mahāvihāra*, 85

Dēvarāshtra, 120, 121, 150

Dēvarman, Vishnukundin, 113, 115

Dēvarman (Indo-China), 140

(See Vijayadēvarman)

*Dēvi vihāra*, 86

Dharmāñjaya, 87, 120, 121

Dhānavulapādu, 33

*Dhānyaghāta*, 51

Dhānyakataka, 31, 32, 37, 38, 51, 52,  
58, 62, 109, 110

Kingdom 28

In Nāśik ins 38

University, 27

*Dhāranis* 31

Dharmakōta, 36, 37, 51

Dhāranikōta, 31

*Dharma*, 14

Dharmachandira, 68

Dharmakirti, 63

Dharmanandi, 59, 85

Dharmapāla, 62, 63, 137

*Dhatakas*, 87

*Dhyāni* Buddhas, 30

Dignāga 62, 63, 99, 100

*Dīpaladibba*, Kanuparti, 20

*Dīpaladinne*, 40

Divi taluk, 3

Drakshārāma, 43, 116, 150

*Dramila* 127

Drāvida, 7, 33, 118, 149

Dravidian, 119

Dravidian, Gōpura, 35

Dravidians in Burma, 133

Dravidian religion in Indo China, 141

Drona, 139

Dubieul (Dr) on *Pallava genea*

*logy*, 96, 100

*Discoveries* 20, 23

Duttagāmini, 71, 141

*Dvādaśa Nikāya Śāstra*, 56

## E

Education in Āndhra, 27, 28, 98, 126

Egypt, 134

Eighteen taxes, 152

Elapatra, 36, 43

Elliot and Amāravati, 37

Ellora, 25, 49, 138

Ellore, 36, 91, 92, 118  
 Eliote Prakrit, C P, 89, 91, 110  
*Epics*, Sanskrit, 74

## F

Fāhian, 28, 29, 36, 56, 86, 94, 142, 143  
 Feigussou and Amarāvati, 37, 50  
 Foreigners in the Deccan, 68, 74  
 Fringuladinne, 24  
     Stupa, 17  
     Sculptures, 20  
 Funan, 139, 140

## G

Gāndhārī, 18, 41, 43, 49, 63, 85  
 Gāndhārī art, 50  
 Gāndhārīan, Buddha, 51  
 Gāndhārīan style, 33, 41  
*Gangaridae Calingae*, 124  
 Gangas of Kalinga, 70, 122, 123, 124, 125, 127, 128, 130, 131, 140  
 Ganga era, 123, 124  
 Gangas of Mysore, 81, 94, 102, 103, 106, 107, 108, 109, 124, 130  
 Ganges, 7, 119, 132, 134  
 Gāṅjam, 121  
 Gāṅjam Dt., 11, 28, 83, 112, 119, 120, 122, 125  
 Gardabhins, 68  
 Gaṇikapādu, 11, 18  
 Gautama Buddha, 3, 81  
 Gautamiputra Satakarni, 7, 9, 71, 74, 120  
     (See also Satakarni)  
 Ghaṇṭasāla, 4, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 19, 38, 85, 134  
*Ghaṭika*, 98, 127  
*Ghāts*, Eastern, 88, 111, 149, 150  
 Gūptī ins, 74, 139  
 Gōdāvarī, C P, Vishnukundin, 113, 114, 115, 117  
     Of Prithvimūla, 116, 122  
 Gōdāvarī, Dt., 11, 33, 83, 93, 113, 116, 116  
 Gōdāvarī Dt. (East), 33, 112, 116  
 Gōdāvarī Dt. (West), 11, 20, 88  
 Gōdāvarī River, 3, 69, 70, 78, 81, 93, 118, 119, 120, 121, 123, 128, 129, 132, 133, 136, 137, 138, 140, 149, 150  
 Gokarnā, 124  
 Gokarnasvarī, 125  
*Golconda*, 53  
 Goli, 11, 15, 17, 19, 20  
 Gollu River, 15  
 Gooty, 1, 10, 11

12

Gōpālīn's *Late Pallava Genealogy*, 97  
 Gōvīndavarman, Vishnukundin, 113, 114, 116, 117  
 Greece, 135  
*Græco Roman* style, 18, 21, 29, 45, 48, 49, 50, 141  
 Guddādi, 116, 150  
 Guddādi viśaya, 116  
 Guddāvadī, 116, 150  
 Guddāvadī viśaya, 118  
 Guḍiādi, 11, 15, 16  
 Gūḍūr, 68  
 Gūḍūr tāluk, 72, 135  
 Gummīdūrru, 11, 22  
     (See also Rāmireddipalle)  
 Guntipalle, 11, 14, 15, 17, 18, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 33, 34, 48  
 Guntūr, 37  
 Guntūr Dt., 11, 12, 23, 33, 69, 71, 72, 76, 78, 83, 93, 95, 96, 102, 103, 107, 109, 111, 112, 127, 128, 129, 134, 138, 141, 146, 149, 151  
 Guptas, 4, 94, 111, 117, 121, 122, 123  
 Gupta era in Ganjam, 121  
 Gurālī, 11  
*Guthi*, 4

## H

Hāla, 5, 9  
 Hālsī, 109, 127  
 Hālsī, C P, 108  
 Hanumān, 21  
 Harisēna, poet, 79, 120  
 Harisēna, Vākātaka, 116, 117, 123, 130  
 Hāritī, 106  
 Haritiputras, 82, 127  
 Haishavardhana, 125, 128  
 Hāstivarman Salankāyana, 89, 90, 91, 92, 120, 121  
     Ānandagōtra, 110  
     Of Kalinga, 124  
 Hathigūmpha ins, 151  
 Himalayas, 121  
*Hīnayāna*, 23, 30  
 Hindu gods in Indo China, 140  
 Hindustān, 121  
 Hindu temples, 33, 34, 92, 94, 118, 125  
 Hirahadagallī, C P, 76, 104, 146, 148  
*Hirannaka* clan, 87  
 Huen tsang, 4, 9, 13, 27, 28, 32, 34, 37, 38, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 61, 62, 63, 119, 125, 128, 129, 130, 149  
 Hui Kan, 60  
 Humcha, 124  
 Huns, 74  
 Huviśka, 68  
 Hyderabad, 115, 149

## I

- Ikshupati, 83  
 Ikshuvardhana, 60  
 Ikshvākus, chap vii, p 81  
   Bāhubala, 86  
   Chāntamūla, 84  
   Their relations, 81-2  
 In *Purānas*, 81  
 (See also, 6, 61, 67, 68, 69, 70, 74,  
   78, 79, 88, 91, 92, 111, 112, 115,  
   119, 122, 124, 126, 155, 138, 147)  
 S11 Parvatī Andhras 82-3  
 Vira Puruṣa Datta, 84, 85  
 Irshālī u script 15, 38, 60, 86  
 Ilam Tiraiyan, 81  
 Images of Buddha, 14, 23-4, 44  
   (See also *Bronzes and Buddha*)  
 Indo China, 135, 138, 139, 140, 144  
 Indravarma Vishnukundin (Also  
   Indrabhattāraka) 114, 116, 117,  
   118, 122, 123, 124  
 Adhirāja of Kalinga, 116, 117, 122,  
   123, 124  
 Eastern Chālukya (also Indra  
   bhattāraka), 123  
 Of Indo China, 140  
 Son of Hastivarman of Kalinga,  
   123, 124, 125  
 Itūr, C P, I, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115,  
   116  
 Ipūr, C P, II 112, 113, 115, 116  
 Īśvarakrishna, 63  
 Īśvarasēna, Abhira, 69  
 Itsing, 57, 59, 61, 62, 63, 142, 143  
 Iyengār S. K. (Dr)  
   *On Pallava origin*, 74  
   *Latur Pallava genealogy*, 97

## J

- Jaggayyapēta, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 18,  
   19, 27, 29, 59, 63, 84, 91, 92, 149  
 Jainism, 4, 28, 30, 32, 33, 94, 125,  
   126  
 Jammalamadugu, 33  
 Janapada, 151  
 Jatāsraya, 113, 114, 117  
 Jātāsrayi, 113  
 Jātaka, 61  
 Jātakas, 20, 21, 26, 41, 119, 133  
 Java, 41, 138, 142, 143  
 Jayaprabha, 59  
 Jayasimha E Chalukya, 113, 126,  
   129  
 Jayavarman  
   Brihatphalāyana, 88, 91, 146, 147  
   Of Indo China, 140  
 Jīna (Dignaga), 63  
 Jirjīngi, C. P, 124

## K

- Kadambas, 69, 70, 78, 79, 80, 82, 85,  
   87, 92, 93, 94, 102, 103, 104, 105,  
   106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112,  
   115, 117, 120, 121, 127, 128, 130,  
   131  
*Kādavar*, 74  
*Kadavetti*, 6, 74  
*Kadavetti Mullanti* 131  
 Kākandī (Nellore Dt.), 83  
 Kālā andinādu, 135  
 Kākandivāda, 63  
 Kākāni, 83  
 Kākatiyas, 87  
*Kālshaputa tānti*, 55  
 Kākū'a, 135  
 Kākulam (Krishna Dt.), 83  
 Kākulam (Gaṇjam, Dt.), 83  
 Kākusthavarman, Kadamba, 108  
*Kāla*, Nāga linga, 6, 71  
 Kālabharti, Pallava, 6, 71, 77, 98  
 Kalabhras, 80, 104  
 Kālachūris, 126  
 Kalāha, 134  
*Kalamba*, 80, 104, 105  
 Kāldāsa, 62, 136  
 Kālīnga, 4, 28, 63, 70, 92, 93, 116,  
   117, 118, 119, 126, 127, 128  
 Kings of, chap xi p 119  
 (See also 129, 135, 136, 138, 139,  
   140, 142, 147, 150, 151)  
 Kālīnganagara, 123, 124  
 Kālīngapatnam, 11, 36, 132  
 Kālīnga *vishaya*, 122, 150  
 Kallūr Gudda, 124  
*Kāmasūtra*, 9  
 Kāmavarapukōṭa, 11  
 Kambōja 140  
 Kammāmet, 149  
 Kamtakasēli, 4  
 Kanara, 6, 106  
 Kanara, South, 42  
 Kānchi, 54, 62, 69, 72, 73, 77, 78, 79,  
   80, 82, 88, 92, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100,  
   101, 102, 103, 104, 107, 108, 109,  
   110, 120, 121, 128, 137, 141  
 Kandabalaśri, 86  
 Kandālī, 122  
 Kandāra, 109  
 Kandarapura, 109  
 Kandaśri, 85  
 Kandesh, 121  
 Kāndukūr, C P, 76  
 Kanheri ins, 139  
 Kanishka, 59  
 Kannaḍa, 8, 29  
 Kannada Telugu script, 137  
*Kantakasaila*, 85  
 Kanteru, 109, 149, 151  
 Kantēru, C P, 89, 90, 91, 147

Kan'ōuvādi, 149  
 Kauparti, 11, 12, 19, 20, 135  
 Kanwa, 5, 7  
*Kapadhwa*, 109  
 Karikāla, 6, 77, 101, 105, 106, 149  
 Karikālī II, 105  
 Kārla, 48, 53  
 Kāmanāndu, 149  
 Kumārishtā, 145, 147, 148, 149  
 Kānāta, 6, 33, 78, 126  
 Kāshmir, 85  
 Kāsyapa, 58  
*Kāthāsaritsāgara*, 9  
*Kāthāvathu*, 3  
*Kāthāvasthu atthakatha*, 3  
 Kaundinyā, 139, 140  
 Kaurāla, 120  
 Kauśika, 89  
 Kauthara, 135, 139  
 Kauthūra, 120, 121  
 Kautilya, 148  
 Kavachakāra *Bhōga*, 148  
*Kavanas*, 85  
*Kawi* poems, 142  
 Kākaya, 82  
 Kātravēla, 6, 149  
*Kāṭāṭa yānāra*, 68  
*Kāṭāṭa yūnya*, 130  
 Kāṭiyamān, 109, 127, 128  
*Kāṭes*, 138  
 Kōdāli, 11, 16  
 Kōddūra, 131  
*Kōḥnoor*, 53  
 Kōllūru, 89, 90, 128  
 Kōllūru, C P, 89, 90, 91, 148  
*Kōḷḷidibba* (Chinnā Gāṇjām), 20  
 Kōmrūti, C P, 151  
 Kōndumudi, C P, 88, 117  
 Kondāpolu, 20  
*Kōṃodha*, 119, 125  
*Kōṃa Kōsyla*, 134  
 Koppāram, C P, 128, 129  
 Kōṣāla, 4, 62, 117, 120, 125, 128, 150  
 Kōṣāla Dakṣiṇa, 81, 82  
 Kōṣāli, Uttarī, 81  
 Kōsala nādu Vaidikī, 150  
 Kōsthalapura, 81, 87  
*Kōṭṭāḍibba* (Ghātīkālā), 15  
*Kōṭṭis*, 134  
 Kōṭṭūri, 135  
 Kōṭṭūru, 122  
 Krishna District, 3, 11, 23, 83, 86, 88, 93, 95, 135, 137, 146  
 Krishna River, 3, 6, 11, 12, 14, 21, 30, 37, 38, 53, 67, 69, 71, 72, 73, 77, 78, 82, 84, 85, 86, 88, 93, 109, 110, 111, 112, 115, 117, 121, 128, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 140, 149  
 Krishna, Śitavahana, 6  
 Krishnapatnam, 134  
 Krishnavarman, Kadamba, 108, 109

Kiṣinādu, 149  
 Kubēra, 5, 120, 121, 150  
 Kubēraka, 5  
 Kubja Vishnuvardhana, 129, 150  
 Kudāvāda, 93, 116  
 Kūdūrāhāra, 149  
 Kūdūru, 88, 134  
 Kumārajīva, 60  
 Kumāravisanu branch, 98  
 Kumāravishnu, captor of Kāñchi, 79, 80, 93, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107  
 Son of Buddhavarman, 96, 105, 107, 112  
 Kumāṇila Bhatta, 9, 63, 94, 126  
 Kuntala, 115, 117, 130  
*Kuntalēsvara Dautyam*, 115  
 Kupatūr, 4  
 Kurāla, 89  
 Kurnool Dt., 58, 112, 116, 149  
 Kuśa, 81  
 Kuśasthali, 81  
 Kushānas, 7, 68  
 Kusthalapura, 120, 121

## L

*Lal śmī peetam*, 33  
*Lāṇḍadibba*, 30  
 Lāta, 128  
 Lava, 81  
 Learning in Āndhra, 28 (See Education, also chap. iv)  
 Lendulūru, 93, 118  
 Lhāsa, 27  
 Libraries, 27, 31  
 Ligor, 135, 138  
*Linga Kshetras*, 33  
 Lion crest, 112  
 Literature, 28  
 (See Education and Telugu)  
*Lohavibhaga*, 99, 102  
 Lomas Rishi Cave (Barabar), 25  
 Longhurst, 20

## M

Māchēra, 11  
 Mackenzie MSS, 6, 72  
 Mackenzie and Amarāvati, 37, 39  
 Mādhava I Vishnukundin, 113, 115  
 Mādhava II, Vishnukundin, 113, 115, 116  
 Mādhava III Vishnukundin, 93, 113, 116, 117  
 Mādhava IV, Vishnukundin, 113, 117  
 Mādhava Ganga, 103, 108  
 Mādhava, 126  
*Mādhyamika*, 30, 53, 61, 62

*Madhyāntanugama Sāstra*, 56  
 Mādīra 11  
 Mādura Island, 142  
 Magadha, 5, 6, 7, 63, 115, 122  
*Magna charta*, 151  
 Mahabalipur 35, 134, 138, 141  
*Mahābhārata* 4  
*Mahādandanāyaka*, 87  
 Mahādeva 141  
 Mahāikāntāra, 120  
 Marākūta ins 127  
 Mahānadi River 89, 120, 121, 138, 140  
*Mahāparinirvāna*, 36  
 Mahā āhtra, 6, 63, 115, 121, 126, 128  
 Mahā ā htri, 8, 29  
 Mahārāta, 150  
*Mahātavalava*, 87  
*Mahāvagga*, 6, 10  
*Mahāvamsa* 3, 9, 59, 71  
*Mahāyāna*, 23, 25, 30, 44, 51, 53, 56, 57, 61, 62, 140  
*Mahāyāna pearl in hand sāstra*, 62  
 Mahēndra (of Kosala, King) 120  
 Mahēndia (of Pithāpuram, King) 122  
 Mahēndra, King, 128  
 Mahēndragiri, 112, 116, 121, 124  
 Mahēndravarma, Pallava, 9, 109, 110, 116, 128  
 Mahēndravikrama, 109  
*Mahāsakas*, 85  
*Maisolia*, 9, 10, 89, 127, 133, 134  
 Mājēr, 3  
 Manjērīka, 3, 6, 10  
 Manjēra River, 3  
 Manjēradesa, 3, 10  
 Malanga, 135  
 Malava, 111, 112, 115, 116  
 Malaya Peninsula, 134, 135, 138, 139  
 Malayamān, 73  
 Mallavaram, 38  
 Mallikārjuna, 118  
 Mālwa, 7, 124  
 Manalkudi, 122, 123, 124  
*Manārpha*, 134  
*Mānavya Gōtra*, 127  
 Manchyanna, 146  
 Māndavya, 61  
 Māngadūr, C P, 93, 95, 97, 102  
 Mannēru River, 134  
 Mangalēsa Chālukya, 127, 140  
*Mañjuśrī Mūla Kalpa*, 60  
*Mantapas*, 18, 27, 28, 40, 48, 85  
 Mantarāja, 89, 120  
*Manusmṛiti*, 4  
 Māra Sri (Indo China), 139  
 Mārici, 30  
 Māsaja, 10  
 Masulipatnam, 11, 12, 15, 88, 91, 134, 135, 149  
 Maṭhura, 41, 50

*Matsya Purāṇa*, 8, 10, 68, 74, 83  
 Mattepādi, C P, 110  
 Maukharis, 117  
 Maunas, 68  
 Mairyas, 4, 7, 14, 38, 49, 127, 128, 145  
 Mayidavōlu, C P, 9, 76, 77, 147, 152  
 Mayūra, 128  
 Mayūraśarma Kadamba, 87, 106, 107  
*Mayura vidya*, 86  
 Megasthenes, 5, 9  
*Melange*, 134  
 Menmālura, 95, 102  
 Missions, 3  
 Mitavarman, 122, 124  
*Mlecchas*, 8  
 Mohenjō Dāro, 51  
 Mogulrājapuram, 34, 118  
 Monte Casino 27  
 Monuments of Āndhra II chap see also Āndhra monuments  
 Mōtupalle, 12, 135  
 Mounds, unexcavated, 12, 36  
 Mrigēśvarman, Kadamba, 103  
 Mudivēmu, 71  
 Mukhalingam, 31  
 Mukkanti Kāduvetti, 6, 131  
 Mulaka, 81, 149  
 Mulakuru, 90  
 Mulakuru Bhōjala, 90  
*Mūlamadhyamika sāstra*, 56  
 Mūlavarma (Boineo), 143  
 Mulki nadu, 81, 149  
 Mundarā htri, 145, 149  
 Muniyēru River, 12  
 Muñja, 60  
 Murikupadu, 149  
 Murundas, 63  
 Museums  
     Berwāda, 23, 38  
     Calcutta, 38  
     London, 37, 38  
     Madras, (Amaravati, Garikipadu, Jaggayyapeta, Goli, etc) 18, 19, 38  
     Masulipatnam, National College, 38  
 Musée Guimet, Paris, 20  
 Mūhaka, 127  
 Myākāḍōni ins, 76, 148, 151  
 Myson Stelae ins, 139  
 Mysore, 4, 6, 106, 108, 128

## N

Nadagām, C P, 123  
 Nandivarman, Pallavamalla, 108  
*Nāgas*, 6, 59, 69, 72, 81, 87, 98, 105, 139, 140  
*Nāgas and Pallava*, 72  
*Nāgābhaya*, 60, 86  
*Nāgalinga*, 36

*Nāgaloka*, 54  
*Nāgapuram*, 142  
*Nāga Thēra*, 59, 85  
*Nāgārjuna*, *Vaṇḍanast*, 57  
*Nāgārjuna*, *Bōdhisattva*  
 21, 32, 42, 86, 118, 141  
 Contemporaries, 60-1  
 chap iv, p 53  
 Date, 59  
 Legends, 54-5  
*Nāgārjuna hill*, 57  
 Omniscience, 54-5  
 Scientist, 55  
 Successors in Āndhra, 62-3  
 Works, 56-57  
*Nāgārjunī Konda* (also *Nāgārjunakonda*), 4, 10, 11, 12, 13, 22, 29, 36, 39, 41, 42, 52, 57, 58, 63, 68, 83, 84, 86, 110, 134  
*Chattiyas* of, 24, 54, 85  
 Date of, 15  
 Images of, 23, 24, 44  
 Inscriptions in, 81, 82, 84, 85, 127  
 Relic caskets, 22  
 Sculptures of, 19, 20, 21, 22, 85  
 Sculptures of, in Musée Guimet, Paris, 20  
*Stūpas* in, 17, 21  
*Tihāras*, 27  
*Nāripāṇi*, 7  
*Nāṇḍi*, 54, 62  
*Nāṇḍi*, 127  
*Nāṇḍi*, 149  
*Nāṇḍi*, 51  
*Nāṇḍi*, 59, 86  
*Nāṇḍi*, 4  
*Nāṇḍi* (Kalin), 116, 119, 122, 123  
*Nāṇḍigama*, 11, 86  
*Nāṇḍigama tāluk*, 38  
*Nāṇḍivarman*, *Sāṇḍikāyana*, 90, 147  
*Nāṇḍivarman*, *Pallava*, 96, 97, 99, 103, 105, 106, 109  
*Nāṇḍi*, 8  
*Nāṇḍi*, 11  
*Nāṇḍi* Temple at *Diluvā*, 79  
*Nāṇḍi*, *Vākātaka*, 117  
*Nāṇḍi*, 7, 9, 38  
*Nāṇḍi*, 71, 74, 149  
*Nāṇḍi* River, 12  
*Nāṇḍi*, 69, 76, 134  
*Nāṇḍi*, 8, 12, 71, 72, 78, 79, 83, 93, 95, 96, 103, 121, 127, 129, 134, 148, 149  
*Nāṇḍi*, 120, 121  
*Nāṇḍi*, 60  
*Nāṇḍi*, 113  
*Nāṇḍi*'s Dominions, 8, 10  
*Nāṇḍi*, 104  
*Nāṇḍi*, 149

O

*Ōdras*, 119  
 Officials of the king, 146  
*Oliva Nāgas*, 105  
*Omgōdu*, 95  
*Omgōdu*, I C P, 95, 97, 101, 147  
*Omgōdu*, II, C P, 77, 95, 97, 102  
*Ongōle tāluk*, 110  
*Orissa*, 63, 68  
*Orissa cave style*, 118  
*Orissan mts*, 89  
*Oudh*, 82  
*Ōviya Nāgas*, 73  
*Oxyrhynchus papyrus*, 8

P

*Pagan*, 136, 137  
*Pahlavas*, 7, 67, 68, 74, 133  
*Painting*, 28, 49-50  
 (See also *Ajanta*)  
*Paishtāpura*, 120  
*Panthān*, 7, 133, 134  
*Pāṇḍi*, 149  
*Pāṇḍi*, 105, 148  
*Pāṇḍi*, 9, 103, 120, 121  
*Pāṇḍi*, 95, 102, 103, 121  
*Pāṇḍi* River, 71  
*Pāṇḍi*, 109  
*Pāṇḍi*, 135  
*Pāṇḍi* River, 12  
*Pāṇḍi*, 29  
*Pallavas*  
 Architecture, 118  
 Charters, 92, 95, 105, 108  
*Chōla Nāga* origin, 75  
 Coins, 71  
*Chōla interregnum*, 104  
 Chronology, 102  
 Early, chap vi pp 71, 101-3  
 Genealogy, 76  
 Interregnum in Vengi, 99-100  
 (See also, 6, 35, 67, 68, 69, 70, 83, 86, 88, 89, 91, 92, 93, 94, 111, 112, 114, 115, 116, 117, 119, 121, 126, 127, 128, 130, 131, 135, 136, 139, 140, 142, 143, 145, 146, 147, 149, 151)  
 Later—Genealogy, 95, 100  
*Nolamba*, 104  
*Tiraiyar*, 73  
*Kayavar*, 73  
*Nāṇḍi*, 73  
 Origin, 71, 73, 74, 75  
*Sāṇḍi* feudatory, 71, 76  
*Suvisākha*, 74  
*Trilochana*, 6, 104  
 Two branches, 103, 107, 109  
 Viceroyalty, 37, 77  
*Pallavas and Kadamba*, 106



- Pallavaboga*, 71, 141  
 Palnād, 33, 133, 141  
 Panampātanār 10  
 Pānduranga, 135, 139  
 Pāṇḍya, 127, 131  
*Pramāṇa Samuccaya*, 63  
 Paramārtha, 63  
 Parlakimedi, 121  
 Parlakimedi, C P, 125  
 Parlakimedi taluk, 122  
 Pārtiyala, 133  
 Parvata (Hindu), 58, 115, 116 118, 149  
 Parvata (Buddhist), 21, 24, 53, 55, 56, 58, 59, 83, 84, 85 94  
 Parvata Andhras, 59, 68 82-3, 84  
 Pātaliputra, 7, 62  
 Pāthamāṭēr 3  
*Pattinappālai*, 105, 134  
*Pattuppāttu*, 72, 73 134  
*Pavra and Janapada*, 151  
 Pavuṭṭi 73, 135  
 Pedda Gaṇjam, 11, 12, 15, 17 19, 20, 24, 134, 135  
 Peddakanchēra, 33  
 Peddamaddur, 11, 12, 19, 52  
 Peddavēgi, 4, 36, 92, 118  
 Peddavēgi, C P, 9, 89 90, 92, 124, 147  
 Pegu, 136  
 Pennār River South 7 North, 132, 134  
 Pentapolis, 135  
 Penukonda, C P 99 100, 103  
*Periplus* 9, 60, 132 133, 134  
*Periyapurāṇam*, 72  
 Persia, 48, 68, 74  
*Perumbānārrupadaḥ*, 81  
 Pīkīra, 95  
 Pīkīra, C P, 95, 97, 102, 147, 148, 149  
 Pīṇākini, North, River, 132, 134  
 Pīṭālkhora 18 19  
 Pīṭhāpuram, 11 87, 92, 121, 122, 123, 128, 129, 147, 150  
 Pīṭākīrāshtra, 150  
 Plinv, 124, 132  
 Podiyal, 127  
*Podouke*, 134  
*Poduvar*, 105  
 Point Godāvari, 134  
*Polo molo kili*, 13, 53, 58-59  
*Poloyu*, 58, 94  
 Potappi, 105, 148  
 Prabhākara 122  
*Prajñā lamp sāstra*, 62  
*Prajñāmūla sāstratīka*, 56  
*Prajñāparamita*, 54  
 Prakasadharmā (Indo China), 139  
*Prajñāpāramita sāstra*, 56  
*Prajñāprādīpa śāstrā kārika*, 56  
*Prakṛita* 9, 10  
*Prakṛita Prakasa*, 9  
*Pramāṇa Vihetana*, 56  
 Prambāṇam 142  
 Prasenjī 81  
 Pravarasēna II Vakataka, 115, 117  
 Prithvimūla, 116, 122, 124  
 Prithvisēna I Vakataka, 115, 120  
 Prolnāṭu, 150  
 Prome District, 136  
 Ptolemy 8, 89, 127, 132, 134, 135, 142, 143, 149  
 Pūkiyas, 85, 87  
 Pulakēsin I, Chālukya, 106, 108, 127, 130  
 Pulakēsin II, 70, 108, 114, 120, 125, 128 129, 130  
 Pulicāt, 8 132 134  
 Pulimbūru, 113  
 Pulimbūru, C P (Godāvari C P) 115  
 Pullāmpet taluk, 148  
 Pullāreddigudem, 11, 111  
 Pulumāyi, Vāsishṭiputra, 7, 38, 67, 74  
 Pulumāyi IV, 7, 67, 71, 76, 83  
 Puzāla, 124  
 Purāṇas, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 68, 74, 81, 126  
*Puranānūru*, 4  
 Purāṇi sangama, 116  
 Pūrṇavarman (of Jva), 143  
 Purushadatta, Ikshvāku, 84-5, 87, 91  
 Pūrvamīmāṃsā, 94  
*Pūrvasaṁśa* 4, 27, 51, 85  
 Pushpagiri, 85  
*Pyy*, 137

## R

- Rāgholu, C P, 122, 150  
 Rāghu, Kadamba, 108  
 Rāghu, Solar (Oudh) 121  
*Raghuvamśa*, 121, 136  
*Rajagiriya*, 4  
 Rājagriha, 6  
 Rājahmundry, 150  
 Rājajāja II E Chalukya, 136  
 Rājasēkhara, 74  
*Rājatarāṅginī*, 57, 59  
 Rākāluva, 122  
*Rākshasa gudi*, 30  
 Rāmachandrapuram taluk, 33  
 Rāmachandra, 81  
 Rāmagrāma, 141  
 Rāmātiratham, 11, 12, 13, 15 16, 23, 25, 28, 33, 70, 113, 116, 150  
 Rāmātiratham, C P, 113, 114, 115, 117, 123

Rāmmeddipalle, (see also Gunamidi durrū) 11, 12, 19, 22, 63  
 Ranabhīṭa Rājasimha (Hastivarman of Kalinga), 124  
 Rangoon, 135  
*Rasaratnābhara* 55 61  
*Rāshtrakūṭas*, 109, 131  
*Rāshtras*, 145  
 Ratnaḥōsha, 61  
 Rāṭṭa, 130  
 Ravikīrti, 130  
 Ravivarma, Kadamba, 108  
 Rea and Amarāvati, 37  
 Rēgonram, 117  
 Relic caskets, 22 23  
 Rēnādu, 148  
 Rentachintala 11  
 Rēpalle, 24, 149  
 Revenues, 151  
 Rivers of Andhra, 132  
 Roman coins, 16, 134  
 Roman empire, 135  
 Rome, 135  
 Roman style, 24  
 Rudradāman 67, 74, 121, 139  
 Rudradara Bhattārīka, 82, 85  
 Rudrasarma, 113  
 Rudrasēna II Vākātaka, 115

## S

*Sādvaḥa*, 58  
*Sāgrā*, 87  
*Saila Andhras*, 84  
*Sailam*, Sri, 4, 9, 33, 36, 58, 59, 78, 81, 82, 83, 84, 106, 107, 111, 112, 113, 114  
*Śakas*, 7, 67, 68, 82, 121, 133  
*Śaka era*, 140, 143  
*Śakaladānīdīpa*, 20  
*Śākanda*, 55  
*Śaktarism*, 30-31  
 Śaktivarman  
   Vāsishṭiputra, 87, 122, 147, 150  
   Eastern Chālukya, 136  
*Śālikāno*, 89, 127  
*Śālikāyanas*, 36, 69, 70, 79, 86, 99, 107, 111, 114, 115, 116, 118, 119, 123, 124, 126, 128, 137, 138, 147  
   Brahminical Revival, 93  
   Events, 91  
   Chronology, 91  
   Genealogy, 89  
   (See chap viii, p 88)  
*Śālikāyana* Copper plates, 89  
*Śālikāyana Rishi*, 89  
*Śālikundam*, 11, 13, 16, 17, 23, 24, 25, 30, 31  
*Śālivāhan* i, b, 61

*Sallapalli*, 15  
*Samudragupta* 59, 69, 70, 79, 81, 87, 89, 90, 92, 103, 115, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 128, 150  
*Sāñchi*, 5, 17, 18, 21, 38, 40, 41, 44, 49, 50  
*Sandanes*, 60  
*Sandūr Hills*, 148  
*Sangha*, 14, 29, 86, 150  
*Sangham* literature, 75  
*Singhārāma*, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 24, 25, 28, 33, 122, 142  
*Sāni*, 30  
*Śankara*, 57, 94, 126  
*Śānīra* (king), 60  
*Śankara Vijaya*, 126  
*Sānkhya*, 62  
*Sāṅkhya Kārika*, 63  
*Sāṅkhya Tarka Svāla*, 62  
*San Lan Krom*, 137  
 Sanskrit literature, 93  
*Sāntaka*, 61  
*Sapta Satī*, 8, 9  
*Sāṭpalle*, 122  
*Sārṇāth*, 50  
*Sarvasiddhi tāluk*, 129  
*Sāsanaśālikāra* 137  
*Sassanids*, 68  
*Śātāhani āhāra*, 151  
*Śātāhani rāshtra*, 148  
*Śālikāni* of Nānāghāt, 6  
   Gautamiputra, 7, 9, 67  
   Vāsishṭiputra, 139  
*Śātakarni* 7, 145  
*Setāra*, C P, 129  
*Sataśāstra*, 62  
*Śātavananas*, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 37, 54, 60, 61, 67, 69, 70, 82, 83, 84, 87, 88, 111, 119, 126, 127, 135, 138, 145  
   Administration, 146  
   Army, 146  
   Coins, 6, 7 16, 67  
   Decline, 77-8  
   Empire, 71, 74, 75, 133, 135  
   Feudatories 68, 69  
   Results of rule, 8  
*Śāṭṭenapalle tāluk*, 11, 38, 133  
*Satyasēna*, 78, 79, 98  
*Sawan Kolak*, 138  
 Sculptures, Andhra, 18, 22, 28  
   Also chapter iii  
 Seven Pagodas, 35  
 Sewell and Amarāvati, 37  
 Siam, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140  
*Siddhāntikas*, 4  
*Silāditya*, 128  
*Śilaha viḥāra*, 85  
*Silappaddhikāram*, 7  
*Simhāchalam*, 13, 33  
*Simhapura*, 122, 135

- Simhavarmān, brother of Yuvarāja  
     Vishnugōpa (of Kanchi), 96, 97,  
     99, 100, 104, 105, 108  
     Ashtay king of Amarāvati 16, 27,  
     136  
     Father of Simhavishnu, 109  
     Son of *yuvarāja* Vishnugōpa (of  
     Nellore and Guntūr), 77, 78,  
     93, 95, 107, 116  
 Simhavishnu, 72, 100, 103, 104, 109,  
     110  
 Śimuka, 6  
 Sindhuka, 61  
 Singapore, 135  
 Singavaram, 122  
 Sitānāgram 34, 118  
*Siva*, 31, 92, 117, 138  
     Temples, 117, 118  
 Siva Sri, 7  
 Sivaskandavarman Pallava, 76, 78,  
     79, 88, 101, 102, 104, 146, 152  
     His father, 76  
 Sivasaimi, 113  
 Skanda *Chaliki Kammanaga*, 87  
 Skandnāga, 69, 145  
 Skanda *Sāgarān nāga*, 87  
 Skandaśishya 77, 78, 98  
 Skandaśrī 87  
 Skandavarman  
     Nephew of *Yuvarāja* Vishnugōpa  
     (Kāñchi), 97, 105  
     Son of Viravarman (Nellore and  
     Guntūr), 92, 112, 146  
 Skanda *Visākha Nāga* 87  
 Solar dynasty of Oudh, 72, 81  
*Sopātma*, 134  
 South Sea Islands (or Spice Islands),  
     136, 142  
 Spice Islands, 142-143  
*Sramanas*, 85  
 Śrāvāna Belgōla, 4  
 Śrāvastī, 6, 81  
 Śrīkākulam (Krishna Dt ) 30  
     (Gaṇjam Dt ) 30  
*Śrīkankālī*, 31  
*Śrīthana*, 9  
 Stories, Buddhist, 3, 6  
*Stūpas*, 3, 13-14  
     Age, 14-17  
     Caskets, 22-23  
     *Gopura*, 35-36  
     Sculptures, 18-22  
     Situation, 12-13  
     Style, 1/-18  
 Subhūti, 51  
 Suchardra, 6  
 Sudāma shrine 25  
 Suddhōdana 81  
*Suhṛillēkha*, 57, 61  
*Sukhāvati*, 57, 86  
*Sukhōdaya*, 140  
*Sumatira* 131, 135, 142-3  
*Sumpahi choi Jung*, 68  
 Sun worship, 92  
*Sūnyasaptadhi*, 56  
*Sūnyāta*, 56  
*Sūnyavāda*, 30, 53  
 Sūrya, 51, 92, 138  
*Susruta* 55  
 Suvisākha Pallava, 74  
 Swamidatta, 87, 120, 121, 122  
*Swargaloka* 138  
 Swarn rēka River, 134  
*Swastika* (plan for the *stūpa*), 17  
 Symbols of Buddhism, 14, in Ama-  
     rāvati, 42

## T

- Tādepalligūdem, 11  
 Tagara, 112, 133  
 Takōla 114, 135, 138  
 Tāligundams 69, 76, 106, 108  
*Ta'aings* of Burma, 6, 136  
*Talaing* king, 137  
 Tāmbapanni, 66  
 Tāmbāpa, 95  
 Tamil country, 72, 118, 131, 134, 138,  
     143  
 Tamil epic 146  
 Tamil literature, 68, 88, 104  
 Tamil religion, 109  
*Tamuluk*, 119  
 Tanjore District, 80  
*Tāntrism*, 30  
 Tārā, 30, 54  
 Tērānātha, 4, 27, 55, 56, 60  
*Tātākas*, 85, 152  
 Tekkali, C P, 125  
 Tēli River, 9, 10, 14, 15  
 Telugāna, 136, 142  
 Telugu, 28, 105  
     And Āndhra, 8, 9, 10  
     And *Nāga*, 6, 72  
     And other languages, 29  
     Chōlas, 105, 148-9  
     Extent of, 8  
     Literature, 8, 70, 126  
     Religion, 149  
     (See Buddhism, Hindu gods)  
     Script, 5  
     Traditions, 71  
 Tenāli tāluk, 112, 115  
*Terracotta*, 26, 51  
 Tīmavaram, 16  
 Tīmmapuram, C P, 129  
 Tīraiyān, younger, 72  
 Tīraiyān, elder, 72, 88  
 Tīraiyār, 73, 75, 82, 87, and *Nagas*,  
     73  
 Tīrūkkalukunram, 79

*Tirumangai Ālṅār*, 75  
 Tirupati, 10, 72  
*Tōḍa* architecture, 25  
 Tollāppiyar, 10  
 Tondai, 75, 104, 105  
 Tondaimān, 75  
 Tondamāna 105  
 Tondaimandalam 75, 77  
 Tondaimān Ilam Tiraiyan, 72, 82  
 Tondur, 74, 75  
 Tooth relic, 3  
*Tōpes*, 13  
 Tōsalī, 85  
 Traditions, 105  
*Triglypton*, 136  
 Trikūta, 111, 112, 115  
 Trīkūtaparvata, 110, 112  
 Trilinga, 8, 135, 136  
 Trilōchana Pallava, 6, 71, 72, 82, 104, 105, 106  
 Triparvatā, 109, 112  
*Trśulas*, 22, 42, 48  
 Trivaranagara, 112, 113, 116, 117  
 Tungabhadra River, 130  
 Tunī tāluk, 113  
 Tusāras, 68

## U

Uchangī, 107  
 Udayagiri, 35  
 Udayapurī, 129  
 Udayēndiram, C P, 97, 99, 100, 103, 108  
 Ugrasēna, 103, 120, 121  
 Ugravarman, 103 (Amaravati pillar inscription)  
 Ujjain, 82, 85, 134  
 Umāvarman (of Kalīnga), 116, 122, 123  
 Undavallī, 34, 118, 141  
 University of Dhānyakataka, 27  
 Upanishads, 32  
*Upāya Kausalya hrdayaśāstra*, 56  
 Uruvappallī, C P, 95, 96, 97, 99, 100, 102, 147, 148, 149  
 Utkala, 136  
 Upēndra, 60

## V

Vadavai, 105  
*Vaduga*, 9, 10  
*Vadugavai*, 9, 148  
*Vaidulya*, 56  
 Vajriyanti, 127  
*Vaipulya Sūtras*, 54  
*Vaiśiṣṭhika*, 62  
 Vajraṅgī, 123

*Vajrayāna*, 30, 31  
 Vākātakas, 35, 69, 70, 80, 86, 92, 93, 107, 111, 112, 114, 115, 116, 117, 120, 121, 122, 123, 126, 130, 131  
 Vamsadhārā River, 13, 132  
 Vanga, 85, 86, 127  
 Vanavāsī, 82, 85, 86, 87, 106, 115  
*Vaṇṇas*, 85  
 Varāhamihira, 9  
 Vararuchi, 9  
 Vasubandhu, 59, 62  
 Vātāpī, 127  
 Vātsyāyana, 9, 46  
 Vāyalūr ins., 6, 93, 100, 101, 109, 138  
*Vāyu Purāna*, 61, 81  
*Vēdas*, 32  
 Vēdic Principles in Buddhism, 32  
 Vēdic Religion, 30  
 Vēgavati, 109  
 Velanādu, 149  
 Vēlur, 127  
 Vēlpūru, 12, 109, 113  
 Vēlūrpālayam, C P, 6, 72, 73, 77, 78, 79, 80, 96, 98, 100  
 Vēngadam, 10, 72  
 Vēngi, 36, 62, 63, 78, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 95, 100, 111, 114, 115, 116, 118, 120, 121, 125, 129, 130, 137, 138  
 Vēngīla, 27  
 Vēngī kingdom, 147, 149  
 Vēngī alphabet, 136  
 Vēngorāshtra, 93, 107, 145, 149  
*Vēnaculars*, 8  
 Vīdarbha, 53  
 Vīdhyaḍharapuram, 23  
 V dīśa 6  
*Vīgraha Vyāvartanī Kārīka*, 56  
*Vihāras*, 26-28  
 A Nāgarjunakonda, 85-6  
 Situation, 12-3  
 Water supply in, 12  
 Vijaya, a prefix, 76  
 Vijaya, Sātavāhana 7, 16  
*Vijaya* (Indo-China), 135, 139  
 Vijaya Buddhavarman  
 Pallava 76  
 Śālanakāyana, 89, 91  
 Vijayadēvavarman Śālanakāyana, 89, 90, 91, 92, 115  
 Vijayāditya, Chālukya, 105, 106, 131  
 Vijayapuri, 51, 8, 83, 85  
 Vijayaskandavarman Śālanakāyan  
 90, 91, 92, 93  
 Early Pallava, 76  
 Later Pallava, 95  
 Vijayavāda, 51  
 Vijayanandavarman, Śālanakāyana, 89, 91, 92  
 Vijaya Vishnugōpavarman, Pallava, 99

- Vikramēndra I, Viṣṇukundin, 109, 116  
 Vikramēndra II, 93, 117  
 Village deities, 32  
 Vinayachandra, 124, 125  
 Vindhya Mountains, 81, 128, 130  
 Vindhyaśakti, 68  
 Vinukonda, 111, 133, 134  
 Vinukonda taluk, 33  
 Virakūrchā Pallava, 72, 77, 78, 98  
 Viśa Puruṣa Datta, 82, 84, 85, 86  
 Viravarman, Pallava, 76, 77, 78, 92, 95, 96, 97, 104, 107  
 Viṣṇupāśhapati, 83  
 Viśhamasiddhi, 129  
*Viśayas*, 145  
*Viṣṇu*, 31, 33, 79, 92, 138  
 Viṣṇugōpa  
     Early Pallava, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 103, 104, 120, 121  
     Varman, Vijaya (grandson of Yuvarāja), 96, 104  
     Yuvarāja, 95, 96, 98, 99, 100, 116, 146  
 Viṣṇugōti, 111  
 Viṣṇukundin, 35, 36, 38, 69, 70, 91, 92, 93, 109, 121, 123, 126, 128, 130, 131, 146 Also chapter x, p 111  
     Chronology and events, 114  
     Copperplates, 112-13  
     Capital, 118  
     Coins, 118  
     Genealogy, 112, 114  
     Original home, 111  
*Viṣṇupurāṇa*, 68, 81  
*Viṣṇuśayana*, 36  
 Viṣṇuvardhana I  
     E Chalukya, 92, 103, 130  
 Viṣṇuvarman, Kadamba, 108  
 Viṣṇuvṛdha Gōtra, 111  
 Viśvāmītra Gana, 89  
*Viśvādāsamāna Śāstra*, 56  
 Viśāgapatnam (Viśākhapatnam), 118, 120  
 Viśāgapatnam District, 28, 119, 129, 130  
 Viṣianagram, 11, 122  
 Viṣianagram tāluk, 113  
 Vocan ins., 139  
 Vohara Tissa, 59  
 Vyaghrarāja, 120  
*Vyakhyānas*, 8
- W**
- Wellesley District, 138  
 Writing in Andhra, 5, 14, 23, 28
- Y**
- Yādava, 124  
 Yajña Śrī, 7, 67, 135  
 Yaśodharman, 124  
 Yavana, 85  
 Yavanas, 7, 8, 67, 68, 73, 74, 133  
 Yavadwipa, 142  
 Yellamanchi Kalinga, 150  
 Yellamanchili, 119, 150  
 Yerrupalem, 11  
 Yōgāchāri, 30, 62  
 Yuddhamalla, 8  
 Yuechi, 74  
*Yukti Śāstrika*, 56  
 Yūpa ins. of Mūlavuman, 143

